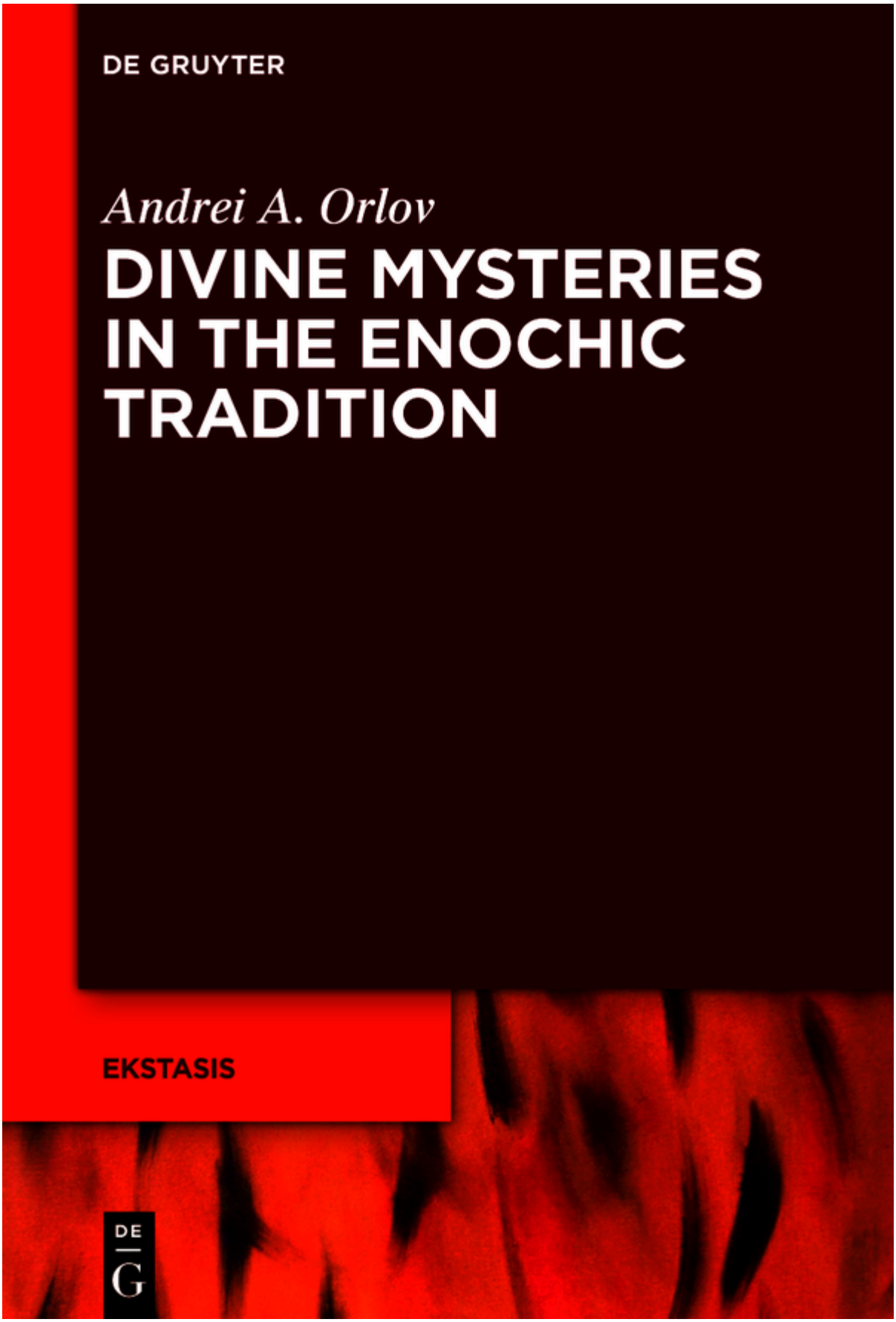
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Andrei A. Orlov
DIVINE MYSTERIES IN THE ENOCHIC TRADITION
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Divine Mysteries in the Enochic Tradition

Ekstasis

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Volume 11

Andrei A. Orlov

Divine Mysteries in the Enochic Tradition

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Nikolai Seleznyov, in memoriam

Resh Lakish said: “There are times when the suppression of the Torah may be the foundation of the Torah.”

b. Menahoth 99a-b

Preface

Several people helped me in my work on this project. I am grateful to my research assistant, Paul Cox, who worked diligently through different versions of the manuscript to help improve the text’s grammar, style, and argument. His meticulous editing has saved me from numerous errors. But all remaining mistakes are solely my own responsibility.

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Last but not least, I offer my sincere thanks to De Gruyter’s production team for their diligent support and patient professionalism during the preparation of this book for publication.

I dedicate this book to the memory of Nikolai Seleznyov (1971–2021), a friend, a colleague, and a pioneer in the field of Syriac studies in the post-Soviet Russia.

Andrei A. Orlov

Milwaukee

The Nativity of Christ, 2023

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
AMD	Studies in Ancient Magic and Divination
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANTZ	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Theologie und Zeitgeschichte
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AR	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ArBib	Aramaic Bible
BAC	Bible in Ancient Christianity
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BRLJ	Brill Reference Library of Judaism
BSJS	Brill's Series in Jewish Studies
BW	The Bible and Women. An Encyclopaedia of Exegesis and Cultural History
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica: New Testament Series
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EA	*Études Asiatiques*
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
FC	Fathers of the Church
HBM	

	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IJS	Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London
JAJ	*Journal of Ancient Judaism*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCTCRS	Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JJTP	*Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJSS	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period. Supplement Series
JSNTSS	Journal for the Study of the New Testament. Supplement Series
JSOTSS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament. Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSS	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha. Supplement Series
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JU	Judentum und Umwelt
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
Neot	*Neotestamentica*
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament

PHSC	Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and its Contexts
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RB	*Revue biblique*
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SEL	*Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico*
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJS	Studia Judaeoslavica
SO	Sources Orientales
SPhA	*The Studia Philonica Annual*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TSEC	Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity
UUÅ	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum

WLAW
: Wisdom Literature from the Ancient World

WMANT
: Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament

WUNT
: Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

ZCP
: *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*

Introduction

In recent years one can see increased scholarly attention to the epistemological dimension of early Jewish apocalyptic writings and, in particular, to the ways by which divine knowledge was harvested and cultivated by the protagonists and antagonists of those early Jewish accounts. The early Enochic booklets have traditionally played a central role in these epistemological probes since they contain the earliest descriptions of the transmission and acquisition of divine knowledge in Jewish apocalypticism. Large portions of these apocalyptic accounts deal with Enoch's travel to otherworldly locations where he receives from angels and God various cosmological and eschatological revelations. In comparison with other early Jewish biblical and extra-biblical accounts, Enochic texts deal with an unprecedented range of revealed subjects unveiled by God and angels to the seventh antediluvian patriarch, which encompass astronomical, meteorological, calendrical, geographical, and other phenomena. At the same time, the early Enochic books offer a complex story of another, illicit transmission of divine knowledge by the rogue group of the fallen angels, known as the Watchers. Their revelations are set in striking parallel with the disclosures given to Enoch during his journeys to otherworldly realms. Helge Kvanvig points out that "the true revelation of the secrets of the cosmos is given to Enoch, patterned on the same traditions that were refuted."[1] Reflecting on the subjects of the Watchers' illicit revelations, Martha Himmelfarb suggests that the "knowledge of the very phenomena that are signs of faithfulness in the introduction to the *Book of the Watchers* (i.e., 1–5; esp. 2:1–5:4) and cause for praise of God in the tour to the ends of the earth (i.e., 17–36) here contributes to the corruption of humanity."[2] In a similar vein, while reflecting on parallelism between the Watchers' secrets and the revelation given to Enoch, James VanderKam notes that one of these endeavors "was a licit transmission, [while the other] is illicit."[3]

In various Enochic booklets one can detect a curious epistemological reversal where the corrupting mysteries of the antagonists appear as salvific secrets revealed to the protagonist. Annette Yoshiko Reed points out that "within *1 Enoch* 12–16, each statement about improper angelic instruction corresponds thematically and inversely to the events subsequently related about Enoch."[4] In another study, she suggests that *1 Enoch* 6–11 "inverts the conception of heavenly secrets as divine knowledge uncovered for salvific aims – a notion presupposed by the early Enochic pseudepigrapha in their transmission of secrets allegedly received by Enoch in heaven."[5]

Recently, Michael Stone has revisited the correspondences between the Watchers' secrets and Enoch's revelations.[6] Analyzing potential conceptual developments, Stone points out that

> the subjects the Watchers revealed to humans contrast strikingly with those revealed to Enoch. They are mostly drawn from the same categories as Enoch's, but represent their sinister side. So, for example, the Watchers teach humans magical medicine (7:1, 8:3) Enoch learns healing (10:7, 67:8). The Watchers teach divination; Enoch learns astronomy. Broadly, but not mechanically, after their descent to earth the Watchers reveal the negative aspect of the heavenly mysteries to humans, while in the course of his ascent and travels (chs. 17–36 and 37–72) Enoch learns the positive aspect of the heavenly secrets from angels.[7]

In another article Stone suggests that

> it is more than simply coincidental that many of the arts taught by the fallen angels are sinister aspects of categories of heavenly knowledge revealed to Enoch and observed by him in the course of his journeys, as they are related in chapters 17–36 and in the Book of the Similitudes (37–72). It is significant that some of these same subjects are also included in the "lists of revealed things." These lists are summaries of the main subjects revealed to apocalyptic seers at the high point of their revelation and occur in a number of works written in the Second Temple period. Perhaps the enumeration of nefarious teachings in *1 Enoch* 7–8 deliberately reverses and reworks some list or catalog of revealed things.[8]

In addition to similarities in the subjects of the Watchers' and Enoch's revelations that often mirror each other, one can detect inverse correspondences in the spatial progressions of the protagonist and the antagonists of the Enochic story during their transmission or acquisition of divine knowledge.[9] Reed points out that "already in the *Book of the Watchers*, the characterization of Enoch was developed through a sustained contrast with fallen 'sons of God': Enoch's ascent was there contrasted with the descent of the fallen angels, and his transmission of salvific knowledge from heaven was articulated in inverse parallel to their corrupting teachings of metal-working, cosmetics, sorcery, and spells upon the earth."[10]

According to the dynamics of inversion, in which the same subjects of divine revelations can serve either for salvation or corruption, the status of their revealers deeply affects the nature and value of the transmitted knowledge. Stone points out that

> varying status and varying types of knowledge are correlated, a dynamic which is borne out in separate texts relating ascent and descent. The correlation between the status of the revealer and the nature of the knowledge is quite explicit. When the revealers, i.e., the fallen angels, descend from heaven to earth and beget children, their descendants' status reduces ultimately to that of earth-born, evil spirits (15:6–10), and these angels' originally heavenly knowledge is degraded to magic, divination, and misapplied metal-working.[11]

One can see that previous scholarly probes have demonstrated that the map of otherworldly knowledge revealed to Enoch inversely mirrors the map of illicit revelations given by the fallen Watchers to humankind. While the striking correspondences between the Watchers' secrets and Enoch's mysteries are widely recognized, the question remains of what the exact purpose of such conspicuous epistemological mirroring is. One of the possible objectives for the parallelism could be that the deity is attempting to mitigate the corruption caused by the fallen angels' illicit instructions by revealing to Enoch the same divine mysteries earlier transmitted by the Watchers. In this respect it appears to be not coincidental that in early booklets of *1 Enoch* the patriarch's access to the divine mysteries demonstrates his "practical" training. Enoch does not merely behold astronomical, meteorological, or geographical realities for his own amusement, but he learns how to count, measure, weigh, and record cosmological realities, becoming privy to the exact architecture of the created order.[12] Enoch's efforts, manifested in his recording, measuring, counting, and balancing activities, appear to establish proper correlations between various cosmological phenomena, which are crucial for the harmonious functioning of the created order, which has been disturbed by the fallen Watchers through their abandonment of their heavenly stations and their illicit pedagogy.

Although in various early booklets of *1 Enoc*h the patriarch appears to rectify compromised creation through his recording, measuring, and calculating efforts, the scope of Enoch's efforts to repair God's creation will come to its fullest expression in *2 Enoch*, an early Enochic apocalypse written in the first century C.E. In this early Enochic account, the seventh patriarch is depicted not only as a recorder and measurer of God's creation but as the "governor of the world," who, through various activities, orders God's creation after its corruption in the angelic rebellion.

The purpose of this book is to examine the aforementioned features of Enoch's epistemological and soteriological profile in the early Enochic writings, paying special attention to the developments found in *2 Enoch*. Our study will pay special attention to the experiential aspect of the epistemological traditions found in early Enochic accounts where Enoch's acquisition of divine knowledge often unfolds in the context of his visionary experience.

Experts in Jewish apocalyptic literature have previously noted that the revelations given to Enoch during his journeys to otherworldly realms appear to be set in striking parallel with the revelations by which the fallen Watchers corrupted humankind. The current study will further investigate these epistemological settings, demonstrating that the map of otherworldly knowledge revealed to Enoch inversely mirrors the map of illicit revelations given by the fallen Watchers to humankind. The book will focus especially on the fallen Watchers' cosmological secrets and their connection to the cosmological law or the "law of the stars." It will argue that the Watchers' cosmological expertise is closely connected to their roles in relation to the "law of the stars" as the former participants and guardians of this reified cosmological covenant.

Chapter One The Mysteries of the Watchers in the Enochic Materials

1.1 The Watchers' Mysteries in the *Book of the Watchers*

One of the earliest Enochic booklets, the *Book of the Watchers*, offers an etiology of evil strikingly different from the one presented in the initial chapters of the Book of Genesis. Unlike its biblical counterpart, which traces the beginning of humankind's corruption to the transgression of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, the Enochic tradition links humankind's fall to an angelic rebellion in the antediluvian period. It unveils the story of the fallen angels, the Watchers, who descended to the earth in the time before the Flood. Upon their descent, the rogue angels corrupted the human race through unlawful marriages with human women and the dissemination of illicit celestial knowledge. Additionally, the Watchers generated a new race of creatures called the Giants that, through their abnormal appetites and violent actions, caused the defilement of the earth. In response to this crisis, God was forced to unleash the Flood.

The *Book of the Watchers*' readers first learn about the angelic rebellion in chapters 6–11 of the book, which, according to current scholarly consensus, represent the earliest strata of this Enochic composition, usually dated to the third century B.C.E.[13] These chapters describe the illicit actions of two groups of the fallen angels: one under the leadership of Shemihazah and another under the leadership of Asael. Scholars usually attribute these two stories to two different literary traditions, associating one with the motif of sexual misdeeds and the other with the motif of illicit pedagogy. It has been suggested that two or more earlier sources were amalgamated in order to produce chapters 6–11 of the *Book of the Watchers*. Early hypotheses about the multiple sources of *1 Enoch* 6–11 and their subsequent amalgamation can be traced to the works of August Dillmann, Bernhard Beer, Francois Martin, and Robert Henry Charles. These early insights have been further developed in studies by Devorah Dimant,[14] Paul Hanson,[15] George Nickelsburg,[16] Carol Newsom,[17] and other scholars. These scholarly probes point to tensions[18] between the Shemihazah material, which focuses on the Watchers' sexual sins and the violence caused by their progeny, and the Asael material, which posits the revelation of forbidden knowledge as the cause for the deterioration of earthly life before the Flood.[19] Furthermore, in this complex process of weaving together several earlier sources, the Asael tradition is usually viewed as the stratum that reflects "the final stage in the redactional growth of *1 Enoch* 6–11" and "a later accretion to the original core of the narrative."[20]

Although some experts have routinely objected to the treatments of Shemihazah and Asael in isolation,[21] the proposals formulated by Dimant, Hanson, Nickelsburg, and other scholars, which attempted to establish strict boundaries between the activities of seduction and impregnation associated with one angelic group and the illicit pedagogies of the other angelic group, have dominated the scholarly landscape of Enochic studies for many decades.

The main bulk of information about the Watchers' corrupting endeavors in the *Book of the Watchers* comes from three descriptions found in *1 Enoch* 6–7, *1 Enoch* 8, and *1 Enoch* 9. These testimonies include two types of evidence: (1) descriptions of the fallen angels' corrupting actions and (2) lists of their names that hint at the subjects of their corrupting revelations. The Shemihazah story in *1 Enoch* 6:1–7:2 offers the following portrayal of the angelic transgressions:

> 6:1 And when the sons of men had multiplied, in those days, beautiful and comely daughters were born to them. 6:2 And the watchers, the sons of heaven, saw them and desired them. And they said to one another, "Come, let us choose for ourselves wives from the daughters of men, and let us beget for ourselves children." 6:3 And Shemihazah, their chief, said to them, "I fear that you will not want to do this deed, and I alone shall be guilty of a great sin." 6:4 And they all answered him and said, "Let us all swear an oath, and let us all bind one another with a curse, that none of us turn back from this counsel until we fulfill it and do this deed." 6:5 Then they all swore together and bound one another with a curse. And they were, all of them, two hundred, who descended in the days of Jared

> onto the peak of Mount Hermon. 6:6 And they called the mountain "Hermon" because they swore and bound one another with a curse on it. 6:7 And these are the names of their chiefs: Shemihazah – this one was their leader; Arteqoph, second to him; Remashel, third to him; Kokabel, fourth to him; <Armumahel>, fifth to him; Ramel, sixth to him; Daniel, seventh to him; Ziqel, eighth to him; Baraqel, ninth to him; Asael, tenth to him; Hermani, eleventh to him; Matarel, twelfth to him; Ananel, thirteenth to him; Setawel, fourteenth to him; Samshiel, fifteenth to him; Sahriel, sixteenth to him; <Tummiel>, seventeenth to him; Turiel, eighteenth to him; Yamiel, nineteenth to him; Yehadiel, twentieth to him. 6:8 These are their chiefs of tens. 7:1 These and all the others with them took for themselves wives from among them such as they chose. And they began to go in to them, and to defile themselves through them, and to teach them sorcery and charms, and to reveal to them the cutting of roots and plants. 7:2 And they conceived from them and bore to them great giants.[22]

Dimant, Nickelsburg, and some other scholars discern the main gist of this passage in the unfolding theme of the Watchers' seduction of human women and procreation of the Giants. Verse 7:1b, which speaks about teaching "sorcery and charms" and revelations about "cutting of roots and plants," is usually taken as a later addition to this literary stratum, which is associated with Shemihazah's group.[23] Nickelsburg argues that "the motif of instruction is secondary … it intrudes between action and result, that is, intercourse and conception … . Without this motif, the other elements in the story constitute a logical narrative: they married; they begat giants; the giants have devastated the earth."[24]

Recently, however, this scholarly consensus, which postulates absence of any traces of the instruction motif in the original form of the Shemihazah narrative, has come under additional scrutiny. Although, for a long time, scholars considered the teaching motif in the Shemihazah story a later accretion, James VanderKam has recently suggested that it may represent an integral part of the Shemihazah narrative, being expressed, among other ways, through the Watchers' names given in *1 Enoch* 6:7.[25] Developing his hypothesis, VanderKam argues that in the *Book of the Watchers* the fallen angels "became pedagogues of subjects *related to the meanings of their names*, with astronomical or astrological subjects playing the major role."[26]

If one looks more carefully at the Watchers list situated in *1 Enoch* 6:7, one can see that the angels' names encompass not only astronomical and astrological subjects but also subjects related to meteorological, calendrical, geographical, and other phenomena. The Aramaic fragments of the *Book of the Watchers* discovered at Qumran provide reliable witnesses for most of the Watchers' names. Michael Knibb notes that "in the light of the Aramaic evidence[27] it is possible to identify the original form of eighteen of the names with a fair degree of certainty – only in the case of the fifth and the seventeenth names is the evidence either non-existent or unclear."[28] The following chart summarizes the correspondences between the Watchers' names and the possible subjects of their illicit instructions:

Table 1: Watchers' Names and Their Meaning.

1.	Shemihazah	שמיחזה[29]	"My Name has seen"/"The Name (God) sees"/"the name/posterity has seen"[30]	secrets of the Name/oath/curses/ spells
2.	Arteqoph	ארעתקף	"the earth is mighty"[31]/"the earth is power"[32]/"earth is stronghold"[33]	"signs of the earth"[34]/ geographical/meteorological /astrological/astronomical secrets
3.	Remashel/ Ramt'el	רמשאל/ רמטאל	"evening of God"[35]/ "burning ashes/heat of God"?[36]	"the volcanic activities of the earth"[37]/geographical secrets
4.	Kokabel	כוכבאל	"Star of God"[38]	astronomical/astrological[39] secrets
5.	Oramel/ Armumahel	Ὀραμμαμή[40]	"God is their light"[41]/"God is prudence"[42]	astronomical/meteorological secrets?
6.	Ramel	רעמאל	"thunder of God"[43]/ "judge of God"[44]	meteorological secrets/secrets of thunder
7.	Daniel	דניאל	"God is (my) judge"[45]/ "God/El has judged"[46]	secrets of divine judgment[47]

8.	Ziqel	זיקיאל	“fireball of God”[48]/ “lightning-flash of God”[49] “shooting star of God/El”[50]	astronomical/astrological secrets
9.	Baraqel	ברקאל	“lightning of God”[51]	astronomical/astrological/ meteorological secrets
10.	Asael	עסאל	“God has made”[52]	secrets of creation/demiurgic secrets
11.	Hermani	חרמני	“(the one) of Hermon/oath/curse”[53]/ “god of imprecations”[54]	secrets of the Name/oath/curse
12.	Matarel	מטראל	“rain of God”[55]	secrets of rain/meteorological secrets
13.	Ananel	ענאל	“cloud of God”[56]	secrets of clouds/meteorological secrets
14.	Setawel/ Sithwa’el	סתואל	“winter of God”[57]	calendrical/meteorological secrets
15.	Shamsiel	שמשיאל	“sun of God”[58]	astronomical/astrological/ calendrical secrets
16.	Sahriel	שהריאל	“moon of God”[59]	astronomical/astrological/ calendrical secrets
17.	Tummiel/ Tammel	תומיאל	“God has completed”[60]/ “perfection of God”[61]	???
18.	Turiel	טוריאל	“mountain of God”[62]	geographical secrets
19.	Yamiel/Yomel	ימיאל	“sea of God”[63] or “day of God”[64]	geographical/ calendrical secrets
20.	Yehadiel[65]/ Zehor’el[66]	יהדיאל/ זהריאל	“God will guide”[67]/ “brightness of God”[68]	astronomical secrets

The chart shows that the Watchers’ names are closely related to the subjects that these rogue angels unlawfully reveal to humankind in the *Book of the Watchers* and other early Enochic documents. Knibb points out that twelve names from the list “are linked in their first element with astronomical, meteorological, and geographical phenomena.”[69] One can argue that the tendency which Knibb highlights can be extended to almost all names on the list. In light of this evidence, VanderKam argues[70] that the list of the angels found in the Shemihazah passage in itself constitutes a witness to the motif of revelation of the divine secrets.[71] He points out that the angels’ “names themselves embody a germ of the teaching motif,”[72] and, therefore, “there appear to be no literary reasons for separating the teaching passages from the story about angels who descended and married women … . Both the accounts, that of Shemihazah and of Asael, included unauthorized angelic instruction that led people into sin and brought on the flood.”[73]

VanderKam’s study provides support not only for the possibility that the Shemihazah story found in *1 Enoch* 6–7 contains a teaching motif but also additional evidence for the importance of the Watchers’ names for discerning the possible content of their illicit instructions – the conceptual dimension which is highly significant for our study.

The second angelic list found in *1 Enoch* 8:1–4 provides further proof for a possible link between the Watchers’ names and their areas of instruction:

> 8:1. Asael taught men to make swords of iron and weapons and shields and breastplates and every instrument of war. He showed them metals of the earth and how they should work gold to fashion it suitably, and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets and ornaments for women. And he showed them concerning antimony and eye paint and all manner of precious stones and dyes. And the sons of men made them for themselves and for their daughters, and they transgressed and led astray the holy ones. 8:2. And there was much godlessness upon the earth, and they made their ways desolate.
>
> 8:3. Shemihazah taught spells and the cutting of roots.

Hermani taught sorcery for the loosing of spells and magic and skill.
Baraqel taught the signs of the lightning flashes.
Kokabel taught the signs of the stars.
Ziqel taught the signs of the shooting stars.
Arteqoph taught the signs of the earth.
Shamsiel taught the signs of the sun.
Sahriel taught the signs of the moon.
And they all began to reveal mysteries to their wives and to their children.
8:4. (And) as men were perishing, the cry went up to heaven.[74]

A close analysis of this passage demonstrates that the Watchers indeed transmitted knowledge corresponding to their names.[75] In this respect, it appears to be not coincidental that the two angels with "onomatological" associations in their names – Shemihazah ("My Name has seen") and Hermani ("the one of Hermon/curse/oath") – communicate knowledge about spells and curses. Other angels dispatch knowledge that correlates to their names: Baraqel ("Lightning of God") teaches the signs of the lightning flashes, Kokabel ("Star of God") – the signs of the stars; Ziqel ("Fireball of God") – the signs of the shooting stars; Arteqoph ("Earth is mighty") – the signs of the earth; Shamsiel ("Sun of God") – the signs of the sun; and Sahriel ("Moon of God") – the signs of the moon. These correspondences once again affirm the insights of VanderKam and other scholars who have argued that the teaching motif became imbedded in the Watchers' names. Consequently, *1 Enoch* 8:3 provides an important algorithm for discerning each Watcher's expertise based on his name.

Finally, the third summary of the Watchers' illicit actions can be found in *1 Enoch* 9:6–10. It comes from the mouths of the archangels, who "looked down from the sanctuary of heaven upon the earth and saw much bloodshed on the earth":

> 9:6. You see what Asael has done, who has taught all iniquity on the earth, and has revealed the eternal mysteries that are in heaven, <which the sons of men were striving to learn.> 9:7. And (what) Shemihazah (has done) to whom you gave authority to rule over them who are with him. 9:8. They have gone in to the daughters of the men of earth, and they have lain with them, and have defiled themselves with the women. And they have revealed to them all sins, and have taught them to make hate-inducing charms. 9:9. And now look, the daughters of men have borne sons from them, giants, half-breeds. <And the blood of men is shed on the earth,> And the whole earth is filled with iniquity.
>
> 9:10. And now look, the spirits of the souls of the men who have died make suit, and their groan has come up to the gates of heaven, and it <does not cease> to come forth from the presence of the iniquities that have come upon the earth.[76]

In this passage, the sexual misdeeds motif and the instruction motif are not assigned to specific groups but, rather, shared between Asael and Shemihazah's angels. Besides a short reference to "hate-inducing charms" in verse 8, this passage does not specify the subjects of the Watchers' illicit teaching.

Despite their brevity and ambiguity the testimonies about the subjects of the Watchers' illicit pedagogical efforts in *1 Enoch* 6–11allow us to draw a preliminary thematic map of their instructions. Based on the descriptions of the Watchers' illicit teachings and the significance of their theophoric names, one can discern the following thematic clusters of angelic mediation of heavenly knowledge in the *Book of the Watchers*:

1.1.1 Astronomical Knowledge

This thematic cluster can be reconstructed on the basis of *1 Enoch* 8:3 where several Watchers transmit knowledge about sun, moon, stars, and comets.[77] From 8:3 we learn that Kokabel taught the auguries of the stars, Ziqel transmitted the knowledge about the signs of the shooting stars, Shamsiel unveiled the signs of the sun, and Sahriel taught the signs of the moon. In addition, Kvanvig argues that astronomical associations can be discerned in Oramel's name, which is usually translated by

scholars as “God is their light.”[78]

1.1.2 Meteorological Knowledge

Another thematic cluster is tied to meteorological incidents. Kvanvig identifies four angels linked, in his opinion, to meteorological realities: Ramel, Baraqel, Matarel, and Ananel.[79] From *1 Enoch* 8:3 we learn that Baraqel taught the auguries of the lightning flashes. Names of several angels from the list found in *1 Enoch* 6:7 also suggest that they were possibly responsible for the transmission of meteorological auguries. Examples include Ramel, whose name can be rendered as “thunder of God,” Matarel, whose name is usually translated as “rain of God,” and Ananel, whose name may be associated with clouds.

1.1.3 Calendrical Knowledge

Kvanvig suggests that at least two Watchers are associated with time.[80] The first is Remashel, who occupies the third position in the angelic list, and whose name is usually translated as “evening of God.” The second is Setawel, who occupies the 14th position in the list found in *1 Enoch* 6:7 and whose name is usually rendered by scholars as “winter of God.” Since one of the aforementioned angels is associated with a portion of the day and the other with a portion of the year, their names may have calendrical significance.

Scholars have previously noted that the three most important clusters of the Watchers’ instructions “are connected to astronomical and meteorological phenomena and phenomena of time.”[81] Kvanvig argues for interrelationships between these three clusters by noting that in the *Astronomical Book* and other early Enochic booklets, “the luminaries determine the rhythm of both day and night and the seasons. The seasons determine special meteorological incidents (*1 Enoch* 72:1–2; 75:1–3; 82:9–20).”[82]

1.1.4 Geographical Knowledge

Several Watchers’ names imply the transmission of illicit geographical knowledge. One can discern terrestrial associations in Arteqoph, whose name is usually translated by experts as “the earth is mighty,” and who is said to be teaching the signs of the earth in *1 Enoch* 8:3. Another candidate is Yamiel, whose name, “sea of God,” could possibly relate to revelation of mysteries of the sea. A third candidate on the “geographical role” is Turiel, whose name, “mountain of God,” could be related to the secrets related to mountains. Remashel, whose name is sometimes associated by scholars with volcanic activities, can also be tied to disclosures of geographical knowledge. Kvanvig also sees “geographical” connections in the names of Shemihazah, which he renders as “heaven has seen,” and Hermani (“the one of Hermon”).[83] For the purposes of our study, however, we will associate Shemihazah and Hermani’s names with onomatological knowledge.

Kvanvig points out that geographical knowledge is closely related to the clusters of astronomical/calendrical/meteorological subjects. He argues that cosmic or geographical locations “do also influence weather phenomena as they appear in specific seasons. This is explicitly said about the seven mountains in *1 Enoch* 77:4. In this section the mountains are listed together with the Great Sea and the land (*1 Enoch* 77:4–8).”[84]

1.1.5 Onomatological Knowledge

The prominence of revelations related to onomatological knowledge (knowledge of the divine Name and its destructive counterparts in the form of oaths and curses) is highlighted by the primary position of Shemihazah, whose name is usually translated by scholars as “my Name has seen.”[85] In later Jewish and Muslim materials, Shemihazah is depicted as an illicit revealer of the divine Name.[86] With the later materials in mind, it appears appropriate that in *1 Enoch* 8:3 he is teaching spells. Another onomatological revealer is Hermani, whose name derives not only from the Mount Hermon, the place of the Watchers’ descent, but also from the Hebrew term חרם – “oath/curse.” According to *1*

Enoch 8:3, "Hermani taught sorcery for the loosing of spells."[87]

1.1.6 Knowledge of Natural Elements

Another important cluster of mysteries deals with various earthly elements (metals, minerals, plants) that the Watchers transform through their illicit pedagogy into tools of seduction, warfare, and sorcery. This cluster includes the mysteries of iron's transformation into weapons and the transformation of metals and precious stones into cosmetics, both taught by Asael.[88] It also includes mysteries of plants revealed by Shemihazah ("Shemihazah taught … the cutting of roots") and mysteries of dyes revealed by Asael.

1.1.7 Demiurgic Knowledge

Kvanvig proposes that some angelic names may be related to "God's rule in his creation."[89] He includes in this cluster Daniel ("Judge of God"), Asael ("God has made"), Tummiel ("Perfection of God"), and Yehaddiel ("God will guide"). Regarding these names, Kvanvig comments, "they could all be references to God's rule in his creation: his judgment of sinners who err (cf. *1 Enoch* 8:8), his creative acts, his perfect creation and his guidance of the righteous."[90] Such demiurgical associations help us better understand the Watchers' powers in negatively refashioning God's creation, including their ability to produce a new race of creatures called the Giants.

Such associations are important for our study since in the *Epistle of Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, and *Sefer Hekhalot* some of Enoch's activities appear to be associated with demiurgic secrets and demiurgic activities, which may parallel the Watchers' expertise.

To conclude this section of our study, we must note that, although the *Book of Similitudes* and some other early Enochic booklets supply some additional items to the catalogue of the subjects revealed by the Watchers, the evidence found in the *Book of the Watchers* provides the foundational epistemological map not only for the knowledge illicitly obtained by humankind from the fallen angels but also for the legitimate knowledge received by Enoch from God and his angels.

1.2 The Watchers' Mysteries in the *Book of the Similitudes*

Conceptual developments found in another early Enochic booklet – the *Book of the Similitudes* – again point to the Watchers' expertise in various aspects of God's creation, the knowledge of which they illicitly pass to humans. Although this Enochic text is not found among the Qumran fragments of Enochic writings, the current scholarly consensus holds that the book was likely composed before the second century C.E.[91]

Chapter 69 of the *Book of the Similitudes* preserves two lists containing the Watchers' names. The first list appears in 69:2:

> 69:2. Look, the names of those angels and these are their names: their first is Shemihazah; and the second is Arteqoph; the third is <Remashel>; the fourth is Kokabel; the fifth is Turel; the sixth is Ramel; the seventh is Daniel; the eighth is Ziqel; the ninth is Baraqel; the tenth is Azazel; the eleventh is Hermani; the twelfth is Matarel; the thirteenth is Basasel; the fourteenth is Ananel; the fifteenth is Turel; the sixteenth is Shamsiel; the seventeenth is <Sahriel>; the eighteenth is <Tummiel>; the nineteenth is <Turiel>; the twentieth is <Yamiel>; the twenty-first is Azazel.[92]

Scholars have previously noted that this record parallels the Watchers' list found in *1 Enoch* 6:7–8.[93] Yet, the list contains slight differences in the order of the angels and their names.[94] Reflecting on these modifications, Nickelsburg points out that "overall this list corresponds to 6:7–8, with these differences: (1) the corrupt name in the thirteenth position has no counterpart in 6:7; (2) because of this insertion, the names that follow are pushed back one position (#13 in 6:7 has become #14 here, etc.), resulting in twenty-one rather than twenty names; (3) #14 in 6:7 has been replaced here at #15 by a duplication of Turel, which occurs at the right place in #19 (= 6:7 #18)."[95]

It is possible that the angelic list presented in *1 Enoch* 69:2–3 finds its inverse symbolic counterpart in the so-called "Oath poem" that follows the list a few verses later in 69:16–25, which, in some scholars' opinion, forms a narrative conglomerate with the list.[96] The poem describes various aspects of God's creation governed by the divine Name/Oath.[97] *1 Enoch* 69:16–25[98] reads,

> 69:16. And these are the secrets of this *oath*, and they are strong through his oath. And <through that oath> the heaven was suspended … before the age was created and forever.
>
> 69:17. Through it *the earth* was founded upon the waters, and from the hidden (recesses) of *the mountains* come forth the beautiful waters, from the creation of the age and forever.
>
> 69:18. And through that oath *the sea* was created, and as its foundation, for the time of wrath, he placed for it the sand, and it does not pass over it from the creation of the age and forever.
>
> 69:19. And through that oath the <pillars of the> deep were made firm, and they have stood and are not shaken from their place from of old and forever.
>
> 69:20. And through that oath *the sun* and *the moon* complete their course, and they do not transgress their commands from of old <and forever>.
>
> 69:21. And through that oath *the stars* complete their courses, and he calls their names, and they answer him from of old and forever.
>
> 69:22. And likewise the spirits of the water, of *the winds*, and all the breezes and their paths, from all the quarters of *the winds*.
>
> 69:23. And there are preserved the voices of *the thunder* and the light of *the lightnings*. And there are preserved the storehouses of *the hail* and the storehouses of *the hoarfrost*, and the storehouses of *the mist* and the storehouses of *the rain* and *the dew*.
>
> 69:24. And all of these confess and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and they glorify (him) with all their might, and their food is in all thanksgiving, and they give thanks and glorify and exalt in the name of the Lord of Spirits forever and ever.
>
> 69:25. And over them this oath is mighty, and by it they are preserved, {and their paths are preserved,} and their courses will not perish.[99]

Filled with cryptic imagery, the poem can be interpreted in several ways. The most obvious interpretation is that it conveys the demiurgic and sustaining powers of the Tetragrammaton – the onomatological symbolism of which, some scholars argue, was well established in Jewish lore at the time when the *Similitudes* were composed. Nevertheless, as with any profound religious symbol – which always has several semantic dimensions – the poem also evokes traditions found in the more immediate context of the *Book of the Similitudes*. The description of various aspects of God's creation (mountains, sea, sun, moon, and stars) as controlled by the divine Name/Oath is reminiscent of several functions of the fallen Watchers conveyed through their names in *1 Enoch* 69:2:

1 Enoch 69:16 – the divine Name/Oath (Shemihazah);
1 Enoch 69:17 – the earth (Arteqoph);
1 Enoch 69:17 – the mountains (Turiel);
1 Enoch 69:18 – the sea (Yamiel);
1 Enoch 69:20 – the sun (Shamsiel);
1 Enoch 69:20 – the moon (Sahriel);
1 Enoch 69:21 – the stars (Kokabel);
1 Enoch 69:23 – the thunder (Ramiel);
1 Enoch 69:23 – the lightnings (Baraqel);
1 Enoch 69:23 – the clouds (Ananiel);
1 Enoch 69:23 – the rain (Matarel).

For our study, it is also important that all the aforementioned elements of creation in *1 Enoch* 69:16–25 are hierarchized under the governance of the divine Name. Reflecting on the functions of the Name/Oath in *1 Enoch* 69, Daniel Olson remarks that "the Cosmic Oath, intimately associated with the Name of God, functions as a creative force in that it bounds chaos in the beginning and enabled the delicate structures of life to exist.[100] *It is an organizational force in that it orders all things into their proper niche in creation*."[101] In *1 Enoch* 69 one may discern certain similarities between the positive arrangement of creation under the governance of the divine Name/Oath in verses 16–25 and the inverse organization of the Watchers under the governance of their leader, Shemihazah – the angel who represents the divine Name – earlier in 69:2.[102] An additional related feature is that the *Book of the Similitudes* places the divine Oath/Name in the hands of the fallen Watchers.[103] Correspondingly, some experts argue that the divine Oath/Name may inversely mirror the infamous oath with which the Watchers bind each other in the *Book of the Watchers* immediately before their descent in *1 Enoch* 6:4–5.[104] If it is indeed so, the mirroring provides additional insights for the "organizational" significance of the divine Name/Oath in the fallen Watchers' angelic hierarchy. Scholars have previously noted that the fallen Watchers' organization is reminiscent of a military order as they are hierarchized in groups[105] with defined leaders.[106] This elaborate hierarchy may reflect the initial cosmological order[107] in which these angels were arranged in their previous duties as patrons of various aspects of God's creation.[108] In light of the angelic hierarchization, it is possible that their group's chain of command mimics the arrangement of the elements of creation and the hierarchy of the divine knowledge associated with these elements. Consequently, it would be appropriate that the leader of the angelic group in *1 Enoch* 6 and *1 Enoch* 69 bears the name "Shemihazah" – an onomatological construct, which includes the component "Shem," which is often associated in various Jewish traditions with the divine Name. It has already been mentioned that the divine Name was often understood in Jewish lore as a demiurgic tool that God used to bring into existence and control various aspects of creation. *1 Enoch* 69 demonstrates that the *Similitudes* upholds this interpretation. The priority of this onomatological aspect in the hierarchy of God's creation is emphasized by the name of the angelic leader that, in the Watchers' lists, dominates and controls other angels who represent various cosmological aspects of created order. Such associations are underlined in *1 Enoch* 69 where Shemihazah, and not Asael, occupies the primary position in the Watchers' list.[109]

In light of the correspondences between the Watchers' names in *1 Enoch* 69:2 and the description of the hierarchized creation in *1 Enoch* 69:16–25, it is possible that the later verses offer a brief compendium that inversely reflects the entire scope of the cosmological knowledge of Shemihazah and his angelic companions. If it is indeed so, the revelation of such a compendium to Enoch can be seen as the disclosure of an epistemological map of the Watchers' illicit pedagogy.

Later, in *1 Enoch* 69:3–13, the *Similitudes* offer another list of the Watchers, which consists of new angelic names[110] and their novel functions:

> 69:3 These are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and the leaders of their hundreds, and the leaders of their fifties, and the leaders of their tens. 69:4 And the name of the first is Yeqon; this is the one who led all the children of the angels astray and brought them down upon the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. 69:5 And the name of the second is Asbeʾel. This one gave evil counsel to the children of the holy angels, and led them astray so that they ruined their bodies through the daughters of men. 69:6 And the name of the third is Gadreʾel. This is the one who showed all the blows of death to the sons of men, and he led Eve astray, and he showed the shield and the coat of mail and the sword for battle and all the implements of death to the sons of men. 69:7 And from his hand they have gone forth against those who dwell on the earth from that day and forever and ever. 69:8 And the name of the fourth is Pēnēmue. This one showed the sons of men the bitter and the sweet and showed them all the secrets of their wisdom. 69:9 He gave humans knowledge about writing with ink and papyrus, and therefore many went astray from of old and forever and until this day. 69:10 For humans were not born for this purpose, to confirm their trustworthiness through pen and ink. 69:11 For humans were not created to be different from the angels, so that they should remain pure and righteous. And death, which ruins everything, would not have laid its hand on them. But through this, their knowledge, they are perishing, and through this power it devours us. 69:12 And the name of the fifth is Kasdeya. This is the one who showed the sons of men all the evil blows of spirits and demons, and the blows of the fetus in the womb, so that it

> aborts, and {the blow of the soul,} the bite of the serpent, and the blow that comes in the noonday heat, the son of the serpent, whose name (is) Tabaʾet. 69:13 This is the number of Kasbeʾel, the chief of the oath, which he showed to the holy ones when he was dwelling on high in glory, and its (or his) name (is) Beqa.[111]

The most perplexing functions are assigned to the fourth angel on the list – Pēnēmue. His enigmatic name is interpreted by some scholars as a reference to the divine Face/Presence. Thus, Olson suggests that this name can be translated as "his (God's) face (פנימו; so spelled in Ps 11:7)."[112] In a recent study, Olson offered another interpretation of Pēnēmue as פני מורא ("the face of terror").[113] Nickelsburg interprets the name of the angel Pēnēmue as the "face of death," arguing that this angelic figure serves as a foil to the archangel Phanuel ("the face of God").[114] If scholars are correct and first element of the angel's name is indeed connected with *panim*, Pēnēmue's name can be related, as in the case of other Watchers, to the angel's ability to illicitly communicate the mysteries of the divine Face/Presence.[115] In the Enochic epistemological framework, in which the mysteries revealed to Enoch inversely mirror the secrets unveiled by the fallen Watchers, the divine Face/Presence receives special attention. For example, *2 Enoch* portrays Enoch as a recipient of revelations of the divine Face/Presence, who, during his luminous metamorphosis, is inducted into the office of the divine Face's servant – *sar happanim*. Later in the story, Enoch becomes a mediator of the divine Face by revealing to Methuselah and other humans the mysteries of the divine Visage. But the roots of Enoch's association with the divine Face and its angelic servants can be discerned already in the *Book of the Similitudes* when the patriarch encounters the angel Phanuel. In the *Similitudes*, Phanuel occupies an important place among the four principal angels, namely, the place usually assigned to Uriel. Scholars suggest that the angelic name "Phanuel" might stress the celestial status of this angel as one of the servants of the divine Face.[116]

Another important function of Pēnēmue is his illicit teaching of scribal craft. From *1 Enoch* 69:9, one learns that "he gave humans knowledge about writing with ink and papyrus, and therefore many went astray from of old and forever and until this day."[117] Experts may find this negative attitude to disclosures about writing puzzling in light of the revelations about writings given to Enoch in *Jub.* 4 and early Enochic documents.[118] But, as Michael Stone rightly notes, the parallelism between the illicit revelation of writing by the fallen Watchers and the legitimate instructions about the same subject given to Enoch seems to be consistent with the dominant epistemological tendency of the early Enochic booklets, which present the mysteries unveiled to Enoch as closely comparable to the revelations of the fallen angels.[119] Pēnēmue's profile as a revealer of scribal craft in many ways inversely mirrors the profile of the main celestial revealer of *2 Enoch*, the angel Vereveil, who initiates Enoch into his scribal office by surrendering to the seventh patriarch his own pen and library of heavenly books.

Finally, the role of Kasbeʾel, "the chief of the oath, which he showed to the holy ones," described in *1 Enoch* 69:13, also deserves our attention. As has been mentioned in our study, the angelic names of Shemihazah and (possibly) Hermani hint at an association with revelations of the divine Name or its destructive counterparts, which manifest in the form of magical spells and curses. While in the case of Shemihazah and Hermani such onomatological connections remain implicit, in Kasbeʾel's case we have a clear and unambiguous example of the illicit transmission of the divine Name, this time to the fallen Watchers themselves, which will find its conceptual counterpart among the revelations given to Enoch. In the *Similitudes* the patriarch receives revelations about the oath that regulates creation (*1 Enoch* 41:5, *1 Enoch* 69:13–25).[120] Later, in *Sefer Hekhalot*, our hero himself becomes the embodiment of the divine Name, being honored by the celestial hosts as the lesser YHWH.

Another witness to the subjects of the Watchers' illicit teaching may be found in *1 Enoch* 65:6–8, which contain some Noachic materials. In this passage, the expression "the secrets of the angels" coincides with descriptions of metallurgical and dyeing practices:

> 65:6. A command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord against the inhabitants of the earth, that their end is accomplished, for they have learned all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the satans, and all their powers, the hidden secrets and all the powers of those who practice sorcery, and the powers of (brightly) color(ed garments), and the powers of those who cast molten

> (images) for all the earth. 65:7. And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth and how soft metal <is poured out> on the earth. 65:8. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the former; there is a fountain that produces them, and an angel stands in it, and the angel is preeminent.[121]

Nickelsburg points out that "the references to metallurgy in vv. 7 and 8, like the mention of magic and perhaps the art of dyeing or the colored clothes that result from it, recall *1 Enoch* 8:3."[122] These secrets of the fallen angels also match revelations given to Enoch in the disclosure about the seven metal mountains. Scholars have previously noted the parallel. For example, Nickelsburg points out that "in the context of the *Parables*, the metallurgical references echo the description of the seven mountains in chap. 52 (see also 67:4)."[123] Another interesting detail is a reference to an angel that controls the fountain of lead and tin, which, again, evokes the Watchers' roles in relation to metals and other natural phenomena.

One also gains insight about the fallen Watchers' subjects of illicit instructions and expertise from the descriptions of the duties and activities of the "unfallen" angels. The *Book of the Similitudes* offers one description where the "good" angels serve as guardians and regulators of various aspects of God's creation. *1 Enoch* 60 describes Enoch beholding various meteorological incidents controlled by the angels. *1 Enoch* 60:11–13 reads,

> 60:11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what is hidden told me what is first and last in heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the abyss, and at the ends of heaven and on the foundation of heaven, 60:12 and in the storehouses of the winds, how the winds are divided and how they are weighed, and how the springs(?) of the winds are (divided and) numbered, according to the power of the wind, and the power of the light of the moon, and according to the power of righteousness. And the divisions of the stars, according to their names, and (how) all the divisions are made. 60:13 And the thunders, according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings, that they may flash, and their host, that they may obey at once.

Here familiar astronomical and meteorological entities have their corresponding "host" that they obey. *1 Enoch* 60:17–22 further demonstrates these correspondences when it describes the angelic guardians of frost, hail, and rain:

> 60:17 The wind of the frost is its (own) angel, and the wind of the hail is a good angel … . 60:19 And the wind of the mist is not mingled with them in their storehouses, but has a special storehouse, because its course is glorious, both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer and in its storehouse is an angel … 60:22 For the waters are for those who dwell on the dry land, for (they are) nourishment for the dry land from the Most High who is in heaven; therefore there is a measure for the rain, and the angels are given charge of it.

One can see that in these accounts the angels in good standing can regulate astronomical, meteorological, and geographical phenomena – i.e., exactly the same entities the fallen Watchers illicitly pass knowledge of to humankind. One can see a parallelism between the assignments of the fallen angels and the angels in good standing. Furthermore, some of the angels in good standing appear to pass their knowledge to humans as well. This time, however, the pedagogy has a legitimate basis since it is generally supervised by the deity. We see an example of the licit transmission of knowledge from an angelic "guardian" of the phenomena to the seer in the *Astronomical Book.* The archangel Uriel, who is defined as the "leader" of the heavenly luminaries,[124] "shows" to the seventh patriarch various mysteries pertaining to these celestial bodies.

To conclude this section of our study, we should again return to the thematic clusters of the Watchers' mysteries, which in early Enochic materials include astronomical, calendrical, meteorological, and geographical subjects. To the extensive catalogue of revealed subjects in the Watchers' illicit teachings in the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of the Similitudes* adds several new thematic categories, including:

1. Illicit revelations about the divine Face/Presence possibly transmitted by Pēnēmue, who may reflect the secrets even in his name.
2. Illicit revelations of scribal art, and specifically, the knowledge about writing with ink and papyrus revealed by Pēnēmue.
3. Illicit revelations about the divine Name/Oath transmitted by Kasbeʾel.[125]

As in the case of astronomical, calendrical, meteorological, and geographical knowledge, these illicit subjects will also find their licit conceptual counterparts in the divine and angelic disclosures given to the seventh antediluvian hero.

1.3 The Watchers' Mysteries in the *Astronomical Book*

In comparison with the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of the Similitudes*, the early, and possibly earliest, Enochic booklet, the *Astronomical Books*[126] does not offer its readers any explicit list of the fallen Watchers or any catalogue of their revealed mysteries. However, the rogue angels' connection with cosmological secrets may still be expressed through the book's portrayals of the unfallen angels that control astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical phenomena. Scholars have previously suggested that in early Enochic booklets one can detect parallelism between the functions of the reprobate and good angels.[127] The *Book of the Watchers* provides one such example when *1 Enoch* 20:1–8 lists the names and agencies of "the holy angels who watch."[128] Nickelsburg notes that the angelic list found in *1 Enoch* 20 is "a kind of counterpart to the list of rebel angels in 6:7–8."[129] Following Nickelsburg's insights, Reed argues that both lists "taken together … convey the completeness of the knowledge associated with Enoch: just as the *Book of the Watchers* includes lists of worldly and otherworldly cosmic phenomenon, so its cataloguing of the angelic agents of cosmic order is paired with the cataloguing of angelic causes of cosmic disorder as well."[130]

Additionally, some passages of the *Astronomical Book* suggest that in the eschaton the "heads of the stars" will change "their ways and actions," causing anarchy in God's creation. The *Astronomical Book* thus affirms both the existence of heavenly agents that control heavenly bodies and the calendar, keeping them in harmony, as well as the possibility that the creation can spin out of control if these celestial guardians stop overseeing matters properly.

1 Enoch 75:1–3 speaks about "the leaders of the heads of the thousands" that are put in control "over all creation and over all the stars":[131]

> The leaders of the heads of the thousands who are over all the creation and over all the stars (have to do) with those four (days) that are added; they are not separated from their position according to the calculation of the year, and they serve on the four days that are not reckoned in the calculation of the year. People err regarding them because those lights truly serve (in) the position of the world: one in the first gate, one in the third heavenly gate, one in the fourth gate, and one in the sixth gate, and the accuracy of the world is completed in the 364 positions of the world. For Uriel the angel whom the Lord of eternal glory set over all the heavenly luminaries, in the sky and in the world, showed me the sign, the seasons, the year and the days so that they may rule the firmament, appear above the earth, and be leaders of days and nights – the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the serving entities that go around in all the heavenly chariots.[132]

In *1 Enoch* 82:4–20 the tradition of celestial guardians of heavenly phenomena and the calendar is reiterated when Enoch conveys to his son the mysteries of the stars and their leaders, which he received earlier:

> 82:4. Blessed are all the righteous, all the blessed who will walk in the way of righteousness and have no sin like the sinners in numbering all the days the sun travels in the sky through the gates, entering and emerging for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, with the four additional ones that divide between the four parts of the year that lead them and enter with the four days. 82:5. People err regarding them and do not calculate them in the numbering of the entire year because they err regarding them and people do not understand them precisely. 82:6. For they

> belong in the reckoning of the year and are indeed recorded forever: one in the first gate, one in the third, one in the fourth, and one in the sixth. Thus a year of 364 days is completed. 82:7. The account about it is true and its calculation is precisely recorded because the luminaries and the months, the festivals, the years, and the days he showed me, and Uriel, to whom the Lord of the entire creation gave orders for me regarding the host of heaven, breathed on me. 82:8. He has power in heaven over night and day to make light appear over humanity: the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the heavenly powers which revolve in their circuits. 82:9. This is the law of the stars (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡) which set in their places, at their times, at their set times, and in their months. 82:10. These are the names of those who lead them, who keep watch so they enter at their times, who lead them in their places, in their orders, in their times, in their months, in their jurisdictions, and in their positions. 82:11. Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first, and after them (come) the twelve leaders of the orders who divide the months, and the 360 heads of thousands who separate the days, and the four additional ones with them are the leaders who separate the four parts of the years. 82:12. (As for) these heads of thousands between leader and leader, one is added behind the position and their leaders make a division. 82:13. These are the names of the leaders who separate the four fixed parts of the year: Milkiel, Helememelek, Meleʾeyel, and Narel. 82:14. The names of those whom they lead (are): Adnareʾel, Iyasusael, and Elomeʾel; these three follow the leaders of the orders, and one follows the three leaders of the orders who follow those leaders of the positions who separate the four parts of the year. 82:15. At the beginning of the year Melkeyal rises first and rules – the one called the southern sun; all the days that fall within the period that he rules are 91 days. 82:16. These are the signs of the days that are to be seen on the earth during the days of his rule: sweat, heat, and care; all the trees bear fruit and leaves come out on all the trees; (there is) a harvest of wheat, roses, and all the flowers that bloom in the field; but the winter trees are dried up. 82:17. These are the names of the leaders who are beneath them: Berkaʾel, Zelebesel, and another head of a thousand who is added has the name Hiluyasef. His days of rule are completed. 82:18. A second leader after him is Helememelek who is named the bright sun; all the days of his light are 91 days. 82:19. These are the signs of the days on the earth: heat, drought, trees bearing their fruit ripe and yielding all their fruit ripe and ready; the sheep mate and become pregnant; people gather all the fruit of the earth and everything in the fields and the winepress – it happens during the days of his rule. 82:20. These are the names, the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands: Gidaʾiyal, Keʾel, and Heʾel; the name of one who is added to them as a head of thousands is Asfaʾel, and the days of his rule are completed.[133]

James VanderKam highlights the similarities between 75:1–3 and 82:4–20. He notes that "the contents of 75:1–3 resemble in some respects the more elaborate pericope regarding the leaders in 82:4–20. Each of the items treated in 75:1–3 appears also in chap. 82 (see esp. vv. 4–8), with the focus here on the leaders of the four special days and on the error committed by some of omitting them from the annual calculations."[134] As in the case of the fallen Watchers, who are hierarchized in regiments with their respective leaders, *1 Enoch* 82:4–20 describes a system of agents that rule respective astronomical or calendrical phenomena. Analyzing various functions of celestial servants in *1 Enoch* 82, Maxwell Davidson points out that in this chapter of the *Astronomical Book*:

> the astronomical world envisaged is populated by angels who regulate the stars so that they move across the sky in their proper positions and order (*1 Enoch* 82:10). *1 Enoch* 82:10–20 gives a detailed survey of the leaders of the stars, who are "presumably angels." Nothing is left to chance! There are "leaders of the thousands of the orders of the stars" who are over each thirty-day month, as well as four important leaders associated with the four epagomenal days (*1 Enoch* 82:4–6). *1 Enoch* 82:9–20, while perhaps a later addition to the earlier part of the chapter, gives a list of the names and functions of the angels concerned with the stars and the seasons. Four leaders are over the seasons, including the epagomenal days (*1 Enoch* 82:11; cf. 82:4, 13). Three leaders are subordinate to each of the seasonal leaders, and these correspond to the twelve months of the year (*1 Enoch* 82:11). Likewise, there are "360 heads over thousands (of stars)" responsible for the days (*1 Enoch* 82:11).[135]

The concept of heavenly guardians of cosmological phenomena solidifies the Enochic vision of cosmology as the archetypal blueprint for human ethics.[136] It is not coincidental that 82:9 makes a reference to the "law of the stars" (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡)[137] – an important halakhic construct that will be explored later in our study. The legal framework fills the cosmos with moral agents, heavenly beings

who have a “choice” regarding right or wrong actions, which they perform either by following established cosmological progressions or departing from them.[138] Chapter 80, which some scholars believe represents an addition to the original core of the *Astronomical Book*,[139] illustrates this point.[140] *1 Enoch* 80:1–8 reads,

> 80:1. At that time Uriel the angel responded to me: “I have now shown you everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to you so that you may see this sun and this moon and those who lead the stars of the sky and all those who turn them – their work, their times, and their emergences. 80:2. In the days of the sinners the rainy seasons will grow shorter, their seed will become late on their land and in their fields. Everything on the earth will change and will not appear at their times, the rain will be withheld, and the sky will stand still. 80:3. At those times the fruit of the earth will be late and will not grow at its normal time, and the fruit of the trees will be withheld at its (normal) time. 80:4. The moon will change its order and will not appear at its (normal) time. 80:5. At that time it will appear in the sky and will arrive at … at the edge of the great chariot in the west and will shine very much more (brightly) than its normal light. 80:6. Many heads of the stars will stray from the command and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them. 80:7. The entire law of the stars (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡) will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them. They will turn back from all their ways, will err, and will take them to be gods. 80:8. Evil will multiply against them and punishment will come upon them to destroy all.”[141]

1 Enoch 80 ties together cosmological and human ethics. Again, we encounter a reference to the “law of the stars” (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡), which “will be closed to the sinners.” Similar to the luminaries and the stars that will change their normal course in “the days of the sinners,” sinful human beings will “turn back from all their ways.” Mladen Popović suggests that “in this passage, the natural order is not distinct from the ethical or covenantal order. Carrying an ancient biblical notion to its extreme, this author proclaims the essential unity of *physis* and *nomos*.”[142]

The cosmological imagery in *1 Enoch* 80 is saturated with legal terminology, including the words like “laws” and “commandments.”[143] According to *1 Enoch* 80:4, the moon will change *its law* (ሥርዓቶ).[144] *1 Enoch* 80:6 reports that “many heads of the stars will stray from the *command* (ትእዛዝ) and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them.”[145] *1 Enoch* 80:7 says that “the entire *law* (ሥርዓት) of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them.”[146]

Although Olson has suggested that the description found in *1 Enoch* 80 reflects merely the authors’ ironic treatment of the misperceptions that people have about the seasons and the luminaries,[147] VanderKam argues that “the chapter makes abundantly clear that the calamities of the future will not be limited to misperceptions that people have about the seasons and the luminaries; rather, nature itself will suffer radical change. In fact, the section, by being dated to the days of the sinners, implies that sin is the cause for the departures of natural elements from their created patterns or laws.”[148]

It is not entirely clear when the cosmological crisis will occur. One of the temporal markers found in the passage references “in the days of the sinners.” The expression, “in the days of the sinners,” also occurs in *1 Enoch* 22:12[149] and *1 Enoch* 102:5.[150] VanderKam notices that “in those passages the addressees are the souls of the dead who met their end unjustly. The days when they lived and suffered their fate are called the days of the sinners. These verses deal with times characterized by sin, the result of which will not be rectified until the great judgment; they seem to cover very long periods. The same may be the case in 80:2, although it is more clearly directed to the future than are the other two passages (but see 22:4; 103).”[151]

Scholars often argue that “in the days of the sinners” refers to the eschatological period. However, it is possible that here, like in many other apocalyptic writings, eschatology mirrors protology,[152] and “the days of the sinners” can simultaneously designate two events: the future eschatological crisis and the protological transgression, which occurred in the antediluvian age. Klaus Koch supports the reading of the temporal duality of *1 Enoch* 80, arguing that “the predicted punishment may hint to the final judgment. The ‘many evils,’ however, are surely thought to occur during the present.”[153]

Some other scholars have suggested that “in the days of the sinners” may be a reference to the

antediluvian transgression. Loren Stuckenbruck proposes that this expression is "probably referring to the days just before the Flood in his [Enoch] time."[154] If it is indeed so, the cosmological crisis must be connected with the Watchers' descent and their illicit pedagogy since both *1 Enoch* 80 and *1 Enoch* 82 allude to the same phenomena, the knowledge of which was illicitly taught by the fallen Watchers. Scholars have previously suggested such a possibility. Maxwell Davidson argues that

> *1 Enoch* 82:9–20 describes how the stars are controlled by leaders in relation to the seasons and epagomenal days, the twelve months and the 360 single days. Presumably these leaders are angels. In other words, blame for problems in the world is laid upon angels. This is reminiscent of the *Book of the Watchers*, though there the theme of angelic sin is much more developed, with the teaching of Asael's angels (*1 Enoch* 10:7–8) and the devastation caused by the Nephilim (*1 Enoch* 17:1). The idea is also found in the *Book of the Watchers* in the rebellion of stars which "transgressed the commandment of the Lord at the beginning of their rising, because they did not come forth at their proper times" (*1 Enoch* 18:13–16).[155]

Davidson further points out that "it is sufficient to recognize the link in the author's thought between sin and problems with the calendar … . For him, the cosmos is a moral creation: moral disobedience affects the physical world."[156]

VanderKam also appears to see connections between the events described in *1 Enoch* 80 and the Watchers' transgression. He suggests that

> the idea that nature itself will change in the future is at home in the Enochic corpus. According to *1 Enoch* 2–5, the heavenly bodies and other parts of nature undeviatingly obey their creator's law for them (see also chs. 33–36; 83:11). However, that section belongs in a literary tradition in which nature's unchanging obedience is contrasted with humanity's disobedience to the creator's will. The *Book of the Luminaries* agrees with the natural side of the comparison, but the astronomical sections in it draw no contrast between natural obedience and human depravity. *1 Enoch* 80 speaks of human depravity but in a novel way: human depravity will lead to nature's disobedience to the creator's laws. Natural disobedience of this kind is briefly noted in the *Book of the Watchers* which knows of stars that transgressed the Lord's command and are being punished for it (*1 Enoch* 18:15; 21:6).[157]

Several angelological features of the *Astronomical Book* point to the possibility that its imagery of the "good angels" is closely tied to the traditions of the fallen Watchers. An important feature in this respect is their hierarchical organization, which is reminiscent of the military arrangement of the Watchers. The statement found in *1 Enoch* 80:6 – "*many heads of the stars* will stray from the command and will change their ways and actions" – solidifies the connection of "the days of the sinners" with the Watchers' transgressions. Considering the "astral" symbolism of the Watchers in the *Book of the Watchers*[158] (*1 Enoch* 18:15,[159] *1 Enoch* 21:5[160]) and the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 86:1–3),[161] the straying of the stars from their ordered way may be related to the fallen angels' rebellion.

1 Enoch 80:2–8 describes the oncoming deterioration of several aspects of creation, the specific knowledge about which Enoch had previously received from Uriel. Notably, the crisis will affect calendrical matters ("everything on the earth will change and will not appear at their times" *1 Enoch* 80:2) and meteorological events ("the rain will be withheld, and the sky will stand still" *1 Enoch* 80:2).[162] These changes, according to *1 Enoch* 80:3, will have catastrophic consequences for harvests ("at those times the fruit of the earth will be late and will not grow at its normal time, and the fruit of the trees will be withheld at its normal time"). Heavenly bodies, which govern calendrical and meteorological realities, will also be put out of balance. *1 Enoch* 80:4 reads, "the moon will change its order and will not appear at its (normal) time." The next verse (80:5) mentions the sky: "At that time it will appear in the sky and will arrive at … at the edge of the great chariot in the west and will shine very much more (brightly) than its normal light." Some scholars suggests that the original text may speak not about the sky but about the sun. VanderKam, following insights from Hallévi[163] and other scholars, points to "the possibility that the word 'sky' is a mistake for 'sun,' as the confusion would be as likely in Aramaic as in Hebrew, both of which use the same words for 'sky' and 'sun' (שמיא and שמשא are well attested in the Aramaic fragments)."[164] *1 Enoch* 80:5 provides further detail of the

cosmological disorder: “many heads of the stars will stray from the command and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them.”[165]

Although experts have previously argued that chapter 80 represents a later addition to the original core of the *Astronomical Book*,[166] they have not offered sufficient explanation, in my opinion, of why this narrative was inserted by a later editor into a book that offers extensive speculations about Enoch’s reception of the cosmological mysteries.[167] Perhaps the insertion would endow Enoch’s revelations with additional soteriological significance, envisioning them as potential tools for the mitigation and rectification of the protological/eschatological crises caused by the “heads” of the stars and human ignorance about cosmological phenomena and the calendar.

1.4 The Watchers’ Mysteries in *2 Enoch*

2 Enoch, a text[168] probably written before the destruction of the second Jerusalem temple,[169] demonstrates familiarity with some basic features of the fallen Watchers’ myth. Yet, the descriptions of the Watchers’ fall found in chapters 7 and 18 of *2 Enoch* do not make any references to their illicit cosmological disclosures.

The reader learns about the fallen angels for the first time in *2 Enoch* 7 where Enoch, during his visit of the second heaven, sees “prisoners under guard, in measureless judgment.”[170] In the longer recension of the text, Enoch’s psychopomps explain to him that these prisoners are those “who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord’s commandments (повелѣнїа),[171] but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven.”[172] The identification of the imprisoned group with the fallen Watchers becomes clearer later in the narrative when they ask Enoch to pray for them before the deity. Scholars often associate this plea with the tradition attested in *1 Enoch* 13 where the Watchers ask Enoch to write a petition for them.[173]

2 Enoch 18 offers a second portrayal of another group of Watchers restrained in the fifth heaven. This description also lacks any reference to the Watchers’ illicit pedagogy, preferring to concentrate on their sexual sins:

> And those men took me up on their wings and placed me on the fifth heaven. And I saw there many innumerable armies called Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their size was larger than that of large giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, “What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is there no liturgy in this heaven?” And those men answered me, “These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness. And three of them descended to the earth from the Lord’s Throne onto the place Ermon. And they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Ermon. And they saw the daughters of men, how beautiful they were; and they took wives for themselves, and the earth was defiled by their deeds. Who and the wives of men created great evil in the entire time of this age acted lawlessly and practiced miscegenation and gave birth to giants and great monsters and great enmity. And that is why God has judged them with a great judgment; and they mourn their brothers, and they will be outrages on the great day of the Lord.[174]

If we take a close look at *2 Enoch* 18, we see that the details of the Grigori’s rebellion bring to mind some features of the fallen Watchers’ story. *2 Enoch*’s authors know about the descent of 200 (myriads) of Watchers on Mount Hermon.[175] They also know about their oath on Hermon, about their sinful actions with “the daughters of men,” and about the destructive deeds of their offspring, the Giants. At the same time, the myth is reformulated with additional details of the Adamic etiology of evil, which assigns the role of the Watchers’ leader not to Shemihazah or Asael but, instead, to Satanail.[176] The details of the Adamic etiology play an even more prominent role in the description of the antagonists’ transgressions found in *2 Enoch* 29:3–5 and *2 Enoch* 31:4–7.[177]

Another possible allusion to the Watchers’ rebellion is found in the longer recension of *2 Enoch*

29:3–5, a description which also makes no reference to the Watchers' illicit pedagogical efforts:

> 29:3 And from the rock I cut off a great fire and from the fire I created the ranks of the bodiless armies – ten myriad angels – and their weapons are fiery and their clothes are burning flames. And I gave orders that each should stand in his own rank. 29:4 But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority. He thought up the impossible idea, that he might place his throne higher than the clouds which are above the earth, and that he might become equal to my power. 29:5 And I hurled him out from the height, together with his angels. And he was flying around in the air, ceaselessly, above the Bottomless.[178]

This passage is important for our investigation of the "law of the stars" and its iterations in *2 Enoch* since it specifically mentions the strict arrangement of angels in heaven, each of which "should stand in his own rank (в своем чину)."[179] It is also noteworthy that the angelic rebellion is described in terms of a deviation from the initial order: "But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority."

Although chapter 18 does not mention the subjects of the Watchers' instructions, focusing instead on their sexual misdeeds, it is possible that the fallen angels' associations with various astronomical, meteorological, and geographical marvels are implicitly conveyed in *2 Enoch* through its description of the angels in good standing, the portrayal which occupies the next chapter of our apocalypse. As we have already noted in this study, parallelism between fallen Watchers and unfallen Watchers appears to exist in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 20:1–8), where the seven archangels that are put in charge of earthly and heavenly entities are named as "the holy angels who watch."[180] Another story in chapter 80 of the *Astronomical Book* also seems to exhibit this tension between "good" and "fallen" angelic servants. It foretells that at a certain time the good guardians of the cosmological matters will turn into rogue guardians, abandoning their custodial duties and causing great confusion in God's creation. Several features of *2 Enoch* also hint at an awareness of the correspondences between the fallen Watchers and the angels in good standing. During his heavenly journey Enoch sees in the first heaven "200 angels who govern the stars and the heavenly combinations."[181] The number of the angelic servants immediately brings to mind the fallen Watchers' group, which *2 Enoch* 18:3 counts as "Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train, and they descended to the earth."[182]

In this respect, it appears to be not coincidental that *2 Enoch* offers a more developed account of the angelic guardians of cosmological phenomena immediately after the description of the Watchers. In chapter 18, during his visit to the fifth heaven, Enoch first beholds the remnant of the fallen Watchers' group. Then, in chapter 19, the seer is transported to the sixth heaven where he encounters what the shorter recension describes as "7 angels, grouped together, brilliant and very glorious." The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 19 reads,

> 19.1 And the men took me away from there, and they brought me up to the 6th heaven. And I saw there 7 angels, grouped together, brilliant and very glorious. And their radiance was like the radiance of the sun when it shines. There was no difference between their faces or in their dimensions or in the mode of their being. 19.2 These ones regulate, they study the peaceful order of the stars, the birth of the sun and the moon. 19.3 And they are the leaders of the angels and of celestial speech. And they make all celestial life peaceful; and they preserve the commandments and instructions, and sweet voices and singing, every kind of praise and glory. 19.4 And there are angels over seasons and years, and there are also angels over rivers and oceans, angels over fruit and grass, and of everything that breeds; 19.5 and angels of all people, and all their life they organize and write it down before the face of the Lord. 19.6 And in the midst of them are 7 phoenixes and 7 cherubim, six-winged beings, having but one voice and singing in themselves. Their song is not to be reported; the Lord is delighted by his footstool(s).[183]

The reference to the seven angels recalls *1 Enoch* 20:1–8 where a similar number of the archangels are put in charge of earthly and heavenly entities. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 19 makes the connection even more explicit since it speaks about seven groups of angels, which are supervised by

the archangels:

> 19.1 And those men took me from there, and they carried me up to the 6th heaven. And I saw there 7 groups of angels, brilliant and very glorious. And their faces were more radiant than the radiance of the sun, and there was no difference between their faces or in their dimensions or in the style of their clothing. 19.2 And these groups carry out and carefully study the movements of the stars, and the revolution of the sun and the phases of the moon, and the well-being of the cosmos. 19.3 And when they see any evil activity, they put the commandments and instructions in order, and the sweet choral singing and every kind of glorious praise. 19.4 These are the archangels who are over the angels; and they harmonize all existence, heavenly and earthly; and angels who are over seasons and years, and angels who are over rivers and the ocean, and angels who are over the fruits of the earth and over every kind of grass, and who give every kind of food to every kind of living thing; 19.5 and angels who record all human souls, and all their deeds, and their lives before the face of the Lord. 19.6 And in the midst of them are 7 phoenixes and 7 cherubim and 7 six-winged beings, having but one voice and singing in unison. And their song is not to be reported; and the Lord is delighted by his footstool.[184]

An important feature of these descriptions is that the angelic beings are depicted not only as supervisors of various aspects of God's creation but also as agents that preserve/enforce the "commandments and instructions (заповѣди и поученїа)."[185] The legal terminology occurs in the context of regulations concerning "the movements of the stars, and the revolution of the sun and the phases of the moon, and the well-being of the cosmos." The cosmological context of the legal speculation is reminiscent of the references to the "law of the stars" found in other early Enochic booklets. The longer recension mentions that legal actions are taken when the guardian angels see any "evil activity" (злочиненїе):[186] "when they see any evil activity, they put the commandments and instructions in order."[187] This may point to the rebellion of the Watchers and their abandonment of their cosmological stations.

Another important aspect is found in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 19:4, which speaks about the good angels' harmonization of all existence, heavenly and earthly. Here one again encounters the interrelationship between the cosmological ethical order, which is embodied in the proper functioning of astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical phenomena and their guardians, and the human order, which is harmonized and secured by the higher archetype.

Analyzing the angels' traditions in chapters 18 and 19, one can detect a striking inverse of the two angelic groups. The first group has their faces dejected while the second has their visages glorified. The first group has disproportionate bodies,[188] and the bodies of the second group's angels have harmonious dimensions. The first group is passive and idle, and the second is full of energy and in full control of creation. Another crucial symbol that distinguishes both descriptions is the absence or presence of liturgy. While "there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven," in the sixth heaven the good angels are singing in unison.

The question remains whether the aforementioned inverse parallelism hints at the condition and the duties of the fallen angels before their erring. The text does not provide an unambiguous answer for this question. Nevertheless, one can see that the activities of the second group of the good angels recalls some of the traditions associated with the Watchers in early booklets of *1 Enoch*. From *2 Enoch* 19:2 one learns that the good angels control astronomical phenomena: stars, sun, and moon. They also control calendrical matters since, according to *2 Enoch* 19:4a, "there are angels over seasons and years." They also follow judicial regulations since "they preserve/build/create[189] the commandments and instructions" (*2 Enoch* 19:3). Overall, "they make all celestial life peaceful" and "all their life they organize and write it down before the face of the Lord." (*2 Enoch* 19:5). The most important feature for the purposes of our study is that the good angels' oversight and balancing of creation is set in the text in parallel with their studying (изучает)[190] and recording of creation.[191] It demonstrates that *2 Enoch* understands studying and writing as activities that repair and harmonize creation. It provides an additional insight as to why the early Enochic booklets exert so much effort in portraying Enoch's studying (measuring, counting) and recording routines. In light of *2 Enoch* 19, it becomes clear that Enoch "repairs" and harmonizes various aspects of God' creation through his studying and recording.

1.5 The Watchers as the Former Guardians of Creation

Our previous analysis has demonstrated that in early Enochic booklets the fallen Watchers become responsible for the illicit dissemination of mysteries pertaining to various astronomical, meteorological, calendrical, geographical, and natural phenomena. The fallen angels' association with these subjects suggests that in their previous celestial life they performed the duties of celestial guardians of these realities.[192] Helge Kvanvig proposes that "the Watchers were the guardians of the cosmic order, both the celestial bodies, meteorological, natural, and cultural phenomena. Therefore, they could teach the secrets about how to get access to this hidden knowledge."[193] The early Enochic documents, however, do not speak explicitly about such previous appointments. Despite their silence on behalf of the fallen angels' duties, early Enochic compositions nevertheless portray some unfallen angels as celestial custodians of various cosmological entities.[194] In our study we have already encountered several depictions of such angelic guardians in the *Astronomical Book*, the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Book of the Similitudes*, and *2 Enoch*. Analyzing these pseudepigraphical traditions – and similar angelological developments found in the Qumran literature – Mladen Popović points out that these materials "show that angels and spirits have a cosmological function bearing responsibility for the course of the sun, the moon, the planets, and the stars."[195] The belief that the angels control cosmological phenomena was perpetuated in Enochic lore for centuries. Thus in *3 Enoch* 17:4–7, the sun, the moon, and the stars are also controlled by the angelic hosts, some of which bear the familiar names of the fallen Watchers.[196] For our study, however, it is important to identify when the special class of the angels, called the "Watchers," become linked to the offices of custodians of the astronomical, meteorological, calendrical, and natural phenomena.

Helge Kvanvig traces the background of the Watchers' role in guardianship of the cosmological phenomena to Mesopotamian traditions. He demonstrates that in the Near Eastern *apkallus* traditions, which some believe constitute the conceptual background for the Enochic Watchers,[197] the *apkallus* were envisioned as "guardians of cosmic stability."[198] Kvanvig suggests that "the *apkallus* were at the beginning of the universe cosmic guardians; the first made perfect the plans of heaven and earth, the others kept in order; the plans of heaven and earth … . They had a divine origin and were sent to humankind in antediluvian time to teach them the basic cultural benefits."[199] In another section of his study, Kvanvig concludes that "the *apkallus* in their role of watchers come close to 'guardian angels' in the Judeo-Christian tradition."[200]

In the *apkallus* traditions one can also discern a connection between knowledge about cosmological phenomena on the one hand and the ability to "guard" them effectively on the other – a link that plays an important role in Enochic angelology as well. Kvanvig points out that "this combination of the *apkallus* as messengers from the gods, revealing the insight of heaven and earth to humans in antediluvian time, and guardians of the cosmic order … may seem difficult to combine. But as we have underscored several times, there is a clear interconnection."[201]

Furthermore, it is possible that even the specific Aramaic terminology used to designate the Watchers may point to their role as "guardians." Kvanvig argues for such a connection when he links the Aramaic term עיר with the Watchers' role as custodians over cosmological phenomena. He points out that

> in Aramaic there seem to be two closely related usages of the root עיר. The one is the common "be awake," the other is the more rare "keep watch." In the last instance the meaning comes close to the common Hebrew root of "keeping watch," נצר. In Akkadian *maṣṣaru*, "watcher," has both the connotation "guard, watchman, be awake" and "someone who watches for an astronomical observation." The corresponding verb is *naṣāru*, "guard, take care of, keep watch for celestial phenomena." The noun *maṣṣaru* and the verb *naṣāru* are the equivalents of the root נצר, *nāṣār*, in Hebrew and נטר, *nĕṭar*, in Aramaic with one important exception: the Hebrew/Aramaic root cannot have the meaning "stay awake." This could be the reason why the Jews found that the root עיר was more appropriate; the watchers were in charge of the cosmic order all the time; they never departed from their duty (cf. *1 Enoch* 14:23).[202]

The concept of angelic guardians of astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical phenomena

emerges as early as the earliest Enochic document – the *Astronomical Book*.[203] Jackson argues that this Enochic booklet offers "a more developed concept of angels as having a leadership over the phenomena of the cosmos."[204] The *Astronomical Book*'s angelology is dominated by the emblematic figure of Uriel, who is understood in this Enochic text as the leader of the celestial luminaries. Consequently, some experts see Uriel as an important conceptual nexus of the understanding of angels as guardians of cosmological matters. Tracing these developments, VanderKam notes that

> the concept of leaders for the luminaries has arisen before in connection with Uriel who has been called "their leader" (72:1; 74:2; see also 79:6; 80:1), while 72:3 refers to "the leaders of the stars with the ones they lead."[205] The most detailed account of the leaders is found in 82:4–20, which describes an entire hierarchy of them. Neither passage ever calls them angels. In 75:1, the entities in question are dubbed the "leaders of the heads of the thousands who are over all the creation and over all the stars."[206]

One may already encounter in the earliest Enochic document a hierarchized system of heavenly guardians. Kvanvig affirms this possibility by pointing out that in the *Astronomical Book* one can discern "the system of the heavenly leaders of the luminaries, Ethiopic *marāhi*, Aramaic [207]".דבר Reflecting on this celestial system, Kvanvig observes that

> the luminaries themselves are given dominion, Ethiopic *šĕlṭan*, Aramaic שלטן. This authority is given not only to the sun and the moon, but to the stars as well (*1 Enoch* 72:1; 75:3). The luminaries together rule over time and seasons. However, in this authority they are not autonomous. The luminaries are placed into a hierarchy of heavenly leaders to control their movements. At the top of the hierarchy stands Uriel, "Light of God" (*1 Enoch* 72:1; 74:2; 79:6). Below him are the four leaders of the seasons and the four additional days; after that come the twelve leaders for each of the months, followed by the leaders of the thousands for each day of the lunar year of 360 days (*1 Enoch* 75:1; 82:11).[208]

Kvanvig further suggests that the system of cosmological guardians that one can discern in the *Astronomical Book* has a parallel in the *Book of Jubilees*, a writing probably composed in the second century B.C.E.[209] Kvanvig points especially to *Jub.* 2:2, which offers a long list of angelic guardians of various meteorological phenomena, including snow, hail, and frost.[210]

The correspondences between the Watchers' names and the cosmological phenomena attested in *1 Enoch* 6:7 and *1 Enoch* 8:1–4 also implicitly point to a similar hierarchy of angelic custodians.[211] Kvanvig suggests that

> there is an idea of cosmic order lying behind the names of the watchers in *1 Enoch* 6:7 that is not identical to, but is of the same kind as in the *Astronomical Book* and in *Jubilees*. They share in a cosmology where the cosmic order is not ruled by many deities connected to luminaries and natural phenomena, but placed under the command of the Most High who rules the cosmos through a hierarchic system of heavenly servants.[212]

Reflecting on the lists of angelic names in in *1 Enoch* 6:7 and *1 Enoch* 8:1–4, George Nickelsburg argues even more decisively than Kvanvig that these records present the fallen Watchers as custodians of cosmological marvels:

> the names suggest that the chiefs are high angels in charge of the orderly functioning of the heavenly and earthly phenomena: in heaven, not Uriel to be sure, but the angels over sun, moon, stars, shooting stars, thunder, and lightning; on earth, the angels in charge of sea and mountains, as well as the crucial rainy season and its clouds and rain.[213]

Considering these suggestions, one may reasonably assume that the belief that the angels can control cosmological matters constitutes an essential feature of the Enochic myth of the angelic rebellion.

Jackson argues that the Enochic understanding of the cosmic revolt is based "on the belief that all cosmic phenomena are under the control of angels."[214]

Importantly, the tradition about the Watchers' oversight of the cosmological phenomena receives distinctively epistemological expression in the Enochic writings. The Watchers were able to inflict great harm on God's creation precisely because they possessed intimate knowledge of these cosmological and natural marvels.[215] The combination of epistemology and ontology plays an important role also in Enoch's initiation as he is able to rectify and repair various aspects of corrupted creation not through abstract knowledge about these cosmological phenomena but through his practical grasp of these wonders expressed through his measuring, recording, calculating, and balancing of these realities.

One can see that epistemology and ontology became closely interconnected in the fallen Watchers' and Enoch's interaction with the cosmological secrets. In this synthetic conceptual framework, the evolution in the "guardianship" status of the antagonists and protagonists of the Enochic story becomes closely linked with changes in their access to divine secrets concerning cosmological phenomena. The Watchers' "downgraded" ontology, which reflects their exchanging of their status as angelic guardians for the human roles of husbands and fathers, will again and again be put in parallel with the nature and value of the cosmological mysteries they possess. One can discern inverse ontological and epistemological changes in Enoch as well. Michael Stone suggests that "the revealers' fallen status and that of their offspring determines the nature of the revelation. The status of Enoch who is an angel-like visionary determines what he can perceive. Once virtually angelified, Enoch can receive heavenly knowledge, just as the fallen angels reveal only forbidden and black knowledge and their descendants become evil spirits."[216]

While Enoch, in the course of his initiations, became shepherded into the state of a celestial citizen, assuming guardianship of the cosmological mysteries by measuring and recording them, the fallen Watchers progress in the opposite direction, both spatially and morally, becoming mediators of worthless mysteries.[217] In relation to the Watchers' diminished status in the Enochic tradition, Stone notes that "when the revealers, that is, the fallen angels, descend from heaven to earth, their status is ultimately reduced to earth-bound, evil spirits (15:6–9), and their originally heavenly knowledge is reduced to magic, divination, and misapplied metal-working."[218] The expression, "rejected or worthless mystery," found in the Ethiopic text of *1 Enoch* 16:3[219] points not only to a cosmological but to an epistemological crisis. It indicates that by their illicit actions the fallen angels had corrupted not only cosmological realities but, more importantly, the realm of divine knowledge itself, the realm which, according to the ancient epistemological understanding, had its own "objective" existence. This process is graphically depicted in the oracle found in *1 Enoch* 15:6–16:3:

> you originally existed as spirits, living forever, and not dying for all the generations of eternity … . The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling; but the spirits begotten on the earth, on the earth is their dwelling. … You were in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you; but a stolen mystery you learned; and this you made known to the women in your hardness of heart; and through this mystery the women and men are multiplying evils on the earth.[220]

This passage shows a correspondence between the changes in the Watchers' ontology and their access to the divine knowledge.[221] Formerly celestial beings, they now have lost the privilege of conversing with the deity, and a human being, Enoch, must petition on their behalf. The passage unambiguously links the condition of a revealer(s) with his/their access to the divine mysteries. Michael Stone accentuates this link between epistemology and ontology in the Enochic tradition when he remarks that "what a human or an angel can know is a function of his measure of righteousness."[222] Stone further notes that "the overlap of categories between good and evil teaching is noteworthy. It reinforces the observation that *what a human or an angel can know is a function of his measure of righteousness* or, if you will, of his position on the scale running from the earthly to the angelic."[223] This ethical dimension plays a paramount role in the Enochic tradition where Enoch is repeatedly called a "teacher of righteousness" or a "scribe of righteousness." Stone notes that "in both the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Similitudes of Enoch*, the content and moral valuation of what the protagonists can teach or understand is related to their role or position in the

cosmos. Often, the same subject taught as part of the Watchers' instruction is also revealed to Enoch in heaven. The difference between the two is conditioned by the role, angelic or fallen, and the location – heavenly or earthly – of the revealer or teacher. Gradation of status is matched by gradation of the content and character of revealed knowledge."[224]

1.6 Ocular Epistemology and the Watchers' Lost Perception

Our study has suggested that the Watchers lost their access to divine knowledge as a result of ontological change following their rebellion. The question, however, remains of how the early Enochic booklets describe this epistemological metamorphosis. It is possible that such change is hinted at by the Watchers' deprivation of sight, a crucial ocular faculty for the acquisition of divine secrets in the Enochic tradition. The conceptual development warrants closer inspection.

Early Enochic writings amply reinforce that visual apprehension plays a pivotal role in Enoch's acquisition of heavenly knowledge. Although the seventh patriarch learns celestial mysteries by various means, including oral instructions from his angelic guides or reading from heavenly tablets and books, the main bulk of his otherworldly knowledge comes to Enoch through his observation of the divine secrets with his own eyes.[225] Appropriate terminology related to this ocular mode of apprehension is frequently deployed in descriptions of Enoch's otherworldly experiences, for example, in the *Animal Apocalypse*. James VanderKam points out that the *Animal Apocalypse* "contains frequent references to seeing and sight. Enoch introduces the vision report to his son Methuselah with the words 'after this I saw another dream' … and the author sprinkles other such notices throughout the text so that the reader is regularly reminded that the text is an account of a visual experience (e.g. 85:4, 5, 7, 9; 86:1, 2, 3, 4; 87:1, 2, 4; 88:1, 3; 89:2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 19, 21, 27, etc.)."[226] Anathea Portier-Young suggests that the "use of sight-language to describe Enoch's visionary experience throughout the *Animal Apocalypse* highlights the necessity of sight-as-perception for the reception and understanding of the Enochic revelations."[227] Other Enochic booklets regularly affirm the patriarch's visual access to divine knowledge.[228] Enoch beholds, with his own eyes, heavenly phenomena, their correspondences, trajectories, and even calendrical calculations. Enoch, accordingly, summarizes his visual acquisition of divine knowledge with the affirmation that "no one among humans has seen as I saw."[229]

The tendency to describe the reception of divine knowledge as visual experience occurs in the stories of other characters besides Enoch. Thus, for example, the link between visual experience and the apprehension of divine revelations can be detected in the *Animal Apocalypse* where the Israelites' ability to receive divine disclosures is rendered through the symbolism of open and closed eyes.[230] The *Animal Apocalypse* develops this theme through its complex zoomorphic code, which portrays Israel as sheep. Although previous studies have ascertained that the sheep's blindness in the *Animal Apocalypse* signifies the broken relationship between Israel and God,[231] they have often neglected the epistemological dimension of Israel's sight deprivation. Indeed, the symbolism of closed and opened eyes may be related not only to Israel's infidelity or fidelity to the deity's laws but also to their ability or inability to apprehend divine revelation.

Several scholars have entertained this possibility. Nickelsburg recalls that "in the Hebrew Bible blindness is an image for the lack of religious and moral knowledge mainly in Second and Third Isaiah; it appears much more frequently in later Jewish writings and in the NT."[232] Already in Gen 3:5 the symbolism of the opening of human eyes has epistemological significance, designating the possession of divine knowledge: "Your eyes will be opened, and you will be like gods, knowing good and evil." The epistemological context is also present in the *Animal Apocalypse* where the process of the eyes' opening is linked to God's revelations. Nickelsburg points out that "what Israel 'sees' when their eyes are opened is, first of all, God's revealed will in the law … . In addition to this metaphorical use of 'see' in the sense of 'understand,' the author may posit here some kind of visionary experience."[233] Drawing on Nickelsburg's findings, Daniel Olson points out[234] that the opening of the eyes can be interpreted as "a divinely prompted religious awakening,"[235] a "revelatory event,"[236] or a "revelation."[237]

VanderKam also discerns the revelatory dimension of the "open eyes" symbolism in the *Animal Apocalypse*, linking it to the motif of Jacob/Israel as the one who sees God.[238]

Portier-Young argues that "the *Book of Dreams* conjoins the meaning of sight as obedience with that of sight as perception and reception, so that each is contingent on the other … . sight symbolizes a knowledge of and attention to God's will that leads to obedience, knowledge of God's creation, and the ability to see things as they are and know that lies in the store."[239]

In her turn, Carol Newsom links the imagery of "open eyes" to Enoch's own visual apprehension of the divine knowledge, noting that "it is Enoch himself who is described as 'a righteous man whose eyes were opened by God,' so that he 'saw' and 'understood.'" In her opinion, "the symbol of the open eyes … connects the righteous community with an esoteric wisdom tradition and treats them as sharing in some way the special qualities of their founder, Enoch."[240]

Importantly, that the first reference to the sheep's eyes opening in the *Animal Apocalypse* occurs during the Israelites' wanderings in wilderness, the place where Israel received its most important revelations from God. VanderKam notices that it is "near the Sinai pericope where the reader first meets the expression (89:28)."[241] *I Enoch* 89:28–31 describes the revelatory event:

> But the sheep departed from that water and went out to a desert, where there was no water or grass, and *they began to open their eyes and see*. And I saw <until> the Lord of the sheep was pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep was going and leading them. That sheep went up to the summit of a high rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And after that, I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and his appearance was majestic and fearful and mighty, and all those sheep saw him and were afraid before him. And all of them were afraid and trembling because of him, and they were crying out after that sheep with the other sheep that was in their midst, "We cannot stand before our Lord or look at him."

In this passage, the sheep not only receive the compendium of divine legal knowledge in the form of the Torah on "the summit of a high rock," which signifies Mount Sinai, but also behold with their "open eyes" the apex of all divine knowledge – God's theophany.[242] Yet, this ability to visually apprehend divine legal and theophanic knowledge does not remain with Israel long as the sheep quickly lose their "sight" due to the idolatry of the Golden Calf. Analyzing this loss, Tiller argues that "blindness is here equated with straying 'from the way which he had shown them.' This 'way' is as clear a reference to the law as we get in the *Animal Apocalypse*. It confirms the interpretation that sight and blindness correspond to obedience and disobedience to God's law (whether any particular understanding of that law is intended by the author)."[243] One can detect a familiar correspondence between the departure from the divine Law's commandments and the impairment of divine perception expressed through the metaphor of blindless. The pattern plays a pivotal role in the story of the Watchers when their violation of the divine Law, in their case in the form of the "Law of the Stars," results in the loss of their "heavenly" epistemological abilities.

The aforementioned usage of ocular symbolism provides important background for properly understanding the impartment of the Watchers' epistemological expertise in early Enochic booklets since the symbolism of visual apprehension also applies to the Watchers' acquisition of knowledge. One encounters the reference to the Watchers' visual apprehension at the very beginning of their story. *1 Enoch* 6:2 reworks Gen 6:2,[244] presenting the Watchers as those who *saw* human women.[245] The fallen angels' visual experience inversely mirrors the protagonist's endeavors. While Enoch's gaze is directed up toward heavenly things, the Watchers stare down towards earthly realities. The concept of seeing as acquisition of knowledge may be hinted in the name of the Watchers' leader, Shemihazah, which is often translated as the "one who *sees* the Name," indicating his knowledge of onomatological mysteries.

Most important for our study, however, is the motif of imparted visual apprehension found in the episode of Asael's imprisonment in *1 Enoch* 10. The passage mentions a Watcher's deprivation of sight as punishment for his transgressions. In the Ethiopic version of *1 Enoch* 10:4–5, the deity instructs Raphael to do the following:

> Go, Raphael, and bind Asael hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness; and make an opening in the wilderness that is in Doudael. Throw him there, and lay beneath him sharp and jagged stones. And cover him with darkness, and let him dwell there for an exceedingly long time. Cover up his face,

> and let him not see the light (καὶ ἐπικάλυψον αὐτῷ τὸ σκότος. καὶ οἰκησάτω ἐκεῖ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ πώμασον καὶ φῶς μὴ θεωρείτω).[246]

The last two sentences describe the alteration of the Watcher's sight. Raphael must cover his face with darkness, which prevents him from seeing light. The deprivation of Asael's vision may be seen as a logical punishment for the Watchers' initial gaze on earthly women. Yet, the punishment also has profound epistemological significance. The covering of the eyes of the Watchers' leader, which are understood as pivotal organs of spiritual reception in the epistemology of the Enochic tradition, represents a striking contrast to Enoch's epistemological situation. *1 Enoch* 1:2, describes Enoch as "a righteous man whose eyes were opened by God."[247] One can see in the Enochic tradition that God is responsible for both opening and closing the eyes of his creatures. Another possible reference to the Watchers' impaired visual sense can be found in *1 Enoch* 13:5, a passage which describes the Watchers as the ones who are no longer able "to lift their eyes to heaven (οὐδὲ ἀπᾶραι αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν)."[248] The formula again contrasts them with Enoch's visionary profile since he is repeatedly described in early Enochic accounts as the one who is able to lift his eyes to heaven.[249]

Casting Asael into darkness and then, additionally, covering him with darkness has not only penitentiary but also epistemological significance.[250] In the ocularcentric epistemological paradigm of early Enochic writings the symbolism of darkness itself can be interpreted as an epistemological category,[251] hinting at a character's lack of access to divine knowledge. Accordingly, in various Enochic writings, the fallen Watchers are repeatedly described as being situated "in darkness."[252] The tradition emerges forcefully in *2 Enoch*. When, in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 7:1, Enoch sees the imprisoned Watchers in the second heaven, they are situated in "a darkness greater than earthly darkness."[253] The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:3–5 reiterates the symbolism, mentioning that the Watchers (Grigori) are imprisoned in great darkness.[254] Furthermore, in *2 Enoch* the Watchers themselves embody the darkness. In *2 Enoch* 7:2, they are described as having "the appearance of darkness itself, more than earthly darkness."[255]

The Watchers' diminished visual capabilities may be the source of the impartment of their scribal expertise, a craft closely associated in the Enochic traditions with visual praxis. Indeed, Enoch uses his sight not only for beholding cosmological marvels but also for harvesting divine knowledge from heavenly books and composing his own writings. In the Enochic tradition, writing expertise is understood not only as a mean for communication but as a crucial tool for the apprehension of divine knowledge. Already in the *Astronomical Book*, Enoch learns heavenly secrets by writing them down. In *2 Enoch*, his initiation into the divine wisdom includes an episode where he writes for 40 days the knowledge he received from the heavenly books and the angel Vereveil's instructions.

The tradition found in the *Book of the Similitudes* suggests that the fallen Watchers not only possessed scribal expertise but were responsible for illicitly transmitting it to humanity. *1 Enoch* 69:9 tells that Pēnēmue "gave humans knowledge about writing with ink and papyrus, and therefore many went astray from of old and forever and until this day."[256] Yet, an earlier tradition reflected in the *Book of the Watchers* suggests that the fallen angels lost their ability to write. In *1 Enoch* 13 the Watchers ask Enoch to compose a written petition to the deity on their behalf.[257] Importantly, the Watchers' explanation for their inability to write the petition includes the fact that they are unable "to lift their eyes to heaven out of shame for the deeds through which they had sinned and for which they had been condemned." Here the craft of writing and ocular perception are paradoxically linked together. The connection is reiterated a few verses later in chapter 14 when Enoch reports that after he wrote the Watchers' memorandum, he received the answer for it in his vision.[258] Here again, writing and ocular experience are closely connected as Enoch's writing of the petition triggers his vision.[259]

2 Enoch adds another "ocular" marker to this ancient Enochic tale. In its version of the story, the fallen Watchers plead for Enoch's intersession from their dark prisons situated in the second heaven where they themselves now embody the darkness. It underlines the Watchers' deprived epistemological status, situating them in darkness, evoking memory of Asael's imprisonment in the desert. The reworking provides further insight into the epistemological significance of darkness as a state of disconnect from divine revelation.

1.7 The Watchers' Rebellion and Corruption of Creation

Our study has suggested that the fallen Watchers' ability to corrupt various aspects of God's creation was closely connected to their knowledge of the cosmological and natural phenomena they were assigned to guard and protect in their previous heavenly life. In this section we will explore the scope and the extent of these corrupting activities.

The affirmation of the Watchers' negative impact on God's creation plays a prominent role in early Enochic documents. Jonathan Ben-Dov points out that "the impact of sin on the natural order constitutes a central object of reflection in *1 Enoch*, primarily in the introductory chapters (2–5), but also in the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*."[260] Because the earth serves as the domain where the Watchers' harmful activities visibly unfold, the early Enochic materials devote substantial attention to the description of the Watchers and Giants' corrupting actions in this realm. The Watchers and Giants' corruption of the earth becomes a main focus in the *Book of the Watchers*. From *1 Enoch* 8:2, one learns that "there was much godlessness upon the earth, and they [the Watchers] made their ways desolate."[261] In *1 Enoch* 9, the archangels report to the deity the devastating results of the fallen angels' activities on the earth. In *1 Enoch* 10:7, the removal of the Watchers' leader, Asael, to the underground prison is seen as a part of the process of "healing the earth."[262] In *1 Enoch* 10:16–22, the archangel Michael receives instructions from the deity on how to restore the damage done by the Watchers and their offspring to the earth. These instructions for the restoration of God's creation illustrate the scope of the damage done by the fallen angels and their offspring.[263]

Notably, the Watchers and Giants corrupt not only humankind but also other aspects of God's creation and its creatures. While describing the Giants' assault on creation, *1 Enoch* 7:4–5 mentions not only human beings but also "birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish."[264] This reference evokes the memory of the first chapter of Genesis where the deity brings into existence the aforementioned species. Loren Stuckenbruck sees clear connections with the biblical creational account:

> the text goes on to emphasize that humans were not the only victims. The giants "began to sin (or: to do violence) against birds, and against animals, and against reptiles and against fish" (7:5a). So far, the victimization or overconsumption of agricultural resources, the killing of humans, and the annihilation of animal species in the air, on land, and in the sea amounts to a destruction of what God created on the third, fifth, and sixth days in the creation account of Genesis 1 (vv. 11–13, 20–22, 24–30). The very creation that according to the biblical tradition God had declared to be "good," even "very good" (Gen 1:31), is being turned upside down.[265]

Furthermore, not only the Giants' voracious appetites but even their abnormal size and their bastard nature[266] posit them as emblematic symbols of corruption and disharmony in the created order, unleashed by their fathers' sexual misdeeds and illicit pedagogy. The portrayals of the Giants as creatures deviant in their size and behavior fits appropriately in the framework of the Enochic tradition, which sees the proper spatial and temporal measurements of created things as securing their harmonious existence.[267] In this respect, the Giants' enormous size and abnormal appetites[268] serve as a vivid illustration of the disharmony brought by the Watchers' revolt.[269]

Similarly illuminating, in the *Book of the Watchers* it is a personified earth that cries to God, begging the deity to save her from the calamities unleashed by the Watchers' rebellion.[270] Reflecting on this plea, Stuckenbruck points out that it expresses "nothing short of an environmental catastrophe that involves land, animals, and humans."[271]

Despite most of the Watchers' corrupting activities occurring on the earth, their abandonment of their assigned heavenly astronomical and meteorological stations contributes to the corruption of God's creation. The exact scope of these transgressions will be addressed in the next section of our study, but here we must explore some more general allusions to the corruption of the cosmological order.

The theme of the stability of God's creation and, in particular, the cosmological order plays an important role already in the very beginning of the *Book of the Watchers*. The initial reflections found in

1 Enoch 2:1–5:3[272] offer a powerful affirmation of the harmony of the created order immediately before the Watchers' transgression. In this respect it is not coincidental that the initial chapters of *1 Enoch* mention exactly the same elements of creation that will be, a few chapters later, corrupted through the Watchers' illicit teachings, including astronomical ("the luminaries of heaven, that they all rise and set, each one ordered in its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order"), calendrical ("its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order," "the signs of summer and winter"), and meteorological realities ("contemplate the signs of winter, that all the earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain rest upon it").

The phenomena, which function according to the appointed order, are then contrasted with humankind's disobedience. Stone notes that in *1 Enoch* 2–5:3 "the regularity of the works of nature serves as paradigm of obedience and submission to God.[273] This is contrasted in 5:4ff. with man's disobedience and transgression."[274] Nickelsburg also draws attention to the contrast when he writes that

> the introduction to the *Book of the Watchers* (chaps. 1–5) contrasts humanity's faithless disobedience with the orderly obedience that prevails among the heavenly bodies and in the changing of earth's seasons. The repeated introductory words, "observe" and "see," appeal to the empirical experience of nature. The luminaries in heaven, the clouds, dew, and rain, earth's heat and cold, and the foliage of its trees are the exemplary basis of the author's admonition. The story of the watchers' rebellion refers both negatively and positively to the created realm (chaps. 6–11). The watchers revealed forbidden information about the terrestrial world of plants and minerals and taught prognostication that was based on the movements of the celestial bodies. The deeds of the giants decimated the whole terrestrial realm: human beings, birds, beasts, creeping things, fish, and agricultural produce. In consequence, the earth lay polluted and moribund.[275]

Jackson also notices that "the *Book of the Watchers* begins with a strong and unqualified statement of the regularity and dependability of God's created order (*1 Enoch* 2:1–5:3). As we trace this theme throughout the literature, we note a contrast between the emphasis in the *Book of the Watchers* on cosmic regularity and the various accounts of cosmic rebellion elsewhere … ."[276] Jackson rightly discerns that "the original regularity of the cosmos as described in *I Enoch* 2–5 forms the basis for condemning all subsequent deviations. We note that within the narrative itself Enoch receives this revelation of cosmic regularity while he is himself in the heavens and before the revolt occurs (*1 Enoch* 12:1–2). He is given access, as it were, to the 'blueprints' of this cosmic order (*1 Enoch* 33:3–4) as he reads the heavenly tablets and he 'tours the site' observing the reality."[277]

The cosmic regularity, based on principles and laws established by God, serves as a master plan for human ethics. Reflecting on *1 Enoch* 2–5, Annette Reed points out that these chapters affirm "the value of cosmological phenomena as models for ethical behavior."[278] She argues that in them "Enoch exhorts the reader to 'observe' and 'consider' the 'works of heaven' – the heavenly luminaries (2:1), the earth (2:2), and the weather fluctuations in the progression of seasons (2:3–5:1a) – because the orderliness of their cycles attests God's act of Creation (5:1b) and provides humans with models for ethical steadfastness (5:4–9)."[279] The importance of cosmological laws for human ethical behavior is forcefully reiterated in the *Book of Jubilees* where the calendrical "measurements" of the cosmological phenomena are envisioned as the *halakhot* that have paradigmatic value for human morality and social order.[280] According to *Jub.* 4:18, Enoch received calendrical *halakha* from angels as he was the first to relate "the weeks of the jubilees … and made known the days of the years; the months he arranged, and related the sabbaths of the years, as we had told him."[281] Reflecting on this tradition, van Ruiten suggests that "the *halakha* of *Jubilees* is immanent to the creation. The *halakha* written in the books of the Patriarchs is on various occasions said to be derived from the teachings of the angels. Enoch wrote down his testimony 'as we [the angels] had told him' (*Jub*. 4:18)."[282]

These testimonies provide additional insights for understanding the legal impact of the fallen Watchers' rebellion, which deeply affected the structures of divine Law, both in its cosmological and human expressions. By abandoning their heavenly stations, the patrons of cosmological phenomena directly impacted the moral and "social" order of the human community even before their feet

touched the earth.

One of the most striking expressions of this idea can be found in an aforementioned passage from the *Astronomical Book* in *1 Enoch* 80:1–8. In this excerpt, which may not belong to the original core of the *Astronomical Book*, Enoch learns from Uriel how "in the days of the sinners" all astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical phenomena will stop working properly:

> 80:1. At that time Uriel the angel responded to me: "I have now shown you everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to you so that you may see this sun and this moon and those who lead the stars of the sky and all those who turn them – their work, their times, and their emergences. 80:2. In the days of the sinners the rainy seasons will grow shorter, their seed will become late on their land and in their fields. Everything on the earth will change and will not appear at their times, the rain will be withheld, and the sky will stand still. 80:3. At those times the fruit of the earth will be late and will not grow at its normal time, and the fruit of the trees will be withheld at its (normal) time. 80:4. The moon will change its order (ሥርዓቶ) and will not appear at its (normal) time. 80:5. At that time it will appear in the sky and will arrive at … at the edge of the great chariot in the west and will shine very much more (brightly) than its normal light. 80:6. Many heads of the stars will stray from the command (ትእዛዝ) and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them. 80:7. The entire law (ሥርዓተ) of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them. They will turn back from all their ways, will err, and will take them to be gods. 80:8. Evil will multiply against them and punishment will come upon them to destroy all."[283]

We have already suggested that, through the addition of this chapter into the original core of the *Astronomical Book*, the dispatch of astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical mysteries to the patriarch receives additional soteriological significance. For this part of our study it is also important that *1 Enoch* 80 depicts the interconnection between the cosmological laws and the moral laws of human beings by postulating that "many heads of the stars will stray from the command," and the sinners on the earth "will turn back from their ways."[284] Reflecting on *1 Enoch* 80:1–8, Stuckenbruck observes that the passage describes a universe "that is no longer running according to the way God created it to be. Humans are seen to live in a world that is profoundly out of sync with itself. Seasons do not happen when they are supposed to; excessive heat occurs at the wrong times; harvest is delayed; and the universe operates according to a scheme that is intrinsically evil."[285]

Stuckenbruck, who interprets "in the days of the sinners," found in *1 Enoch* 80,[286] as a possible reference to the time of fallen Watchers, also suggests that the calamities outlined in the passage are possibly related to the deeds of the rebellious angels.[287] He points out that "here, of course, we have a different story … regarding the rebellious angels. The stars, which are regarded as living beings (of an angelic order) are disobedient, so that the calendar of the world runs according to 365¼ days per year rather than the 364–day calendar that God created the world for (an ideal calendar exactly divisible by 7, which honors the Sabbath and means that feast days every year fall on the same day of the week; cf. *1 Enoch* 84:4–7)."[288] Stuckenbruck concludes by proposing that "the *Astronomical Book* envisions something of a climate change of cosmic, not local or regional, proportions. The writer attributes the dysfunctional climate to disobedience and to sin, in which stars and humans who follow them have not respected the created order."[289]

Other Enochic materials uphold the conceptual trend that suggests that cosmological crisis and human moral collapse will unfold simultaneously.[290] One can discern the trend in *2 Enoch*'s description of the antediluvian catastrophe which, in this text, is presented as God's revelation to Methuselah right before his death. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 70:3–10 reads,

> And when the time of the departure days of Methusalam arrived, the Lord appeared to him in a night vision and said to him, "Listen, Methusalam! I am the Lord, the God of your father Enoch. I want you to know that the days of your life have come to an end, and the day of your rest has come close. Call Nir, the second son of your son Lamekh, born after Noe, and invest him in the garments of your consecration … . For in his days there will be a very great breakdown on the earth, for each one has begun to envy his neighbor, and people against people have destroyed boundaries, and the nation wages war. And all the earth is filled with vileness and blood and every kind of evil. (And) even

> more than that, they have abandoned their Lord, and they will do obeisance to unreal gods, and to the vault above the sky, and to what moves above the earth, and to the waves of the sea. And the adversary will make himself great and will be delighted with his deeds, to my great provocation. And all the earth will change its seasons (and every tree and every fruit will change their seeds) anticipating the time of destruction. And all the races will change on the earth by my conflagration. Then I shall give the command. The Bottomless will be poured out over the earth, and the great storages of the waters of heaven will come down onto the earth (in a great substance and in accordance with the first substance). And the whole constitution of the earth will perish, and all the earth will quake, and it will be deprived of its strength from that day. Then I will preserve the son of your son Lamekh, his first son, Noe. And from his seed I will raise up another world, and his seed will exist forever, until the second destruction when once again mankind will have committed sin in front of my face."[291]

A first important detail is that the revelation speaks about calendrical and (possibly) astronomical disturbances since "all the earth will change its seasons (and every tree and every fruit will change their seeds) anticipating the time of destruction." The disturbances can be compared to the traditions reflected in *1 Enoch* 80:2–3 where "in the days of the sinners the rainy seasons will grow shorter, their seed will become late on their land and in their fields. Everything on the earth will change and will not appear at their times, the rain will be withheld, and the sky will stand still. At those times the fruit of the earth will be late and will not grow at its normal time, and the fruit of the trees will be withheld at its (normal) time."[292] A second detail connecting *2 Enoch* 70 with *1 Enoch* 80 is the theme of deterioration of human morals expressed in the practice of idolatry, which involves the worship of astronomical entities. According to the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 70:6 the people of the earth "will abandon their Creator, and they will do obeisance to that which is fixed in the sky." This statement can be compared to *1 Enoch* 80:7: "the entire law of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them. They will turn back from all their ways, will err, and will take them to be gods."[293]

It is important that the temporal perspective of *2 Enoch*'s calamity is antediluvial as the Flood follows the crisis. In the mind of the Enochic authors, the calamity becomes inevitably linked with the sins of the Watchers, although the passage did not make any explicit references to the fallen angels.[294]

The conceptual link between the cosmological crisis unleashed by the fallen Watchers' rebellion and the deterioration of human morals will not cease even in later Enochic materials, including the composition known as *3 Enoch*. In the version of the fallen angels' story found in *3 Enoch* 5, the astronomical entities – "the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations" – will be brought down in the antediluvian generation and will be worshiped along with idols.[295] *3 Enoch* 5:7–9[296] narrates this crisis in the following words:

> What did the men of Enosh's generation do? They roamed the world from end to end, and each of them amassed silver, gold, precious stones, and pearls in mountainous heaps and piles. In the four quarters of the world they fashioned them into idols, and in each quarter they set up idols about 1,000 parasangs in height. They brought down the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations and stationed them before the idols, to their right and to their left, to serve them in the way they served the Holy One, blessed be he, as it is written, "All the array of heaven stood in his presence, to his right and to his left." How was it that they had the strength to bring them down? It was only because ʿUzzah, ʿAzzah, and ʿAzaʾel taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down.[297]

Scholars often see in this description some echoes of the fallen Watchers' story. Thus, Reed points out that "in this unit, the angels Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael teach the Generation of Enosh sorceries that allow them to bring the 'moon, stars and constellations' down to earth to serve their idols (cp. *3 Enoch* 4:6 = §6). Although unique within the Hekhalot literature, this unit evokes the corruption of humanity through the revelation of forbidden wisdom by the fallen angels – particularly Asael – in *1 Enoch* (*BW*: 7:1; 8:1–3; 9:6–8; 13:2; 16:3; see *Sim*. 69)."[298]

One can discern striking similarities between *3 Enoch* 5:7–9 and the traditions attested in *1 Enoch*

80 and *2 Enoch* 70. One feature that connects all three stories is the theme of idolatry. *2 Enoch* 70 foretells that, in the generation of the Flood, the sinners "will do obeisance to unreal gods." Similarly, *1 Enoch* 80:7 prophesies that "the entire law of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them. They will turn back from all their ways, will err, and will take them to be gods." Reflecting on this tradition, VanderKam argues that "the culminating point in the charge that sinners will misperceive astronomical data is that they will understand the stars to be gods. Such idolatry would be in obvious violation of the scriptures which warn against worship of the stars and would also oppose the clear teaching of the *Book of the Luminaries* which subordinates Uriel, ruler of all luminaries, to God."[299] It is also noteworthy that *3 Enoch* specifically links the disturbance of the cosmological order with the illicit instructions of the angelic leaders: "How was it that they had the strength to bring them down? It was only because ʿUzzah, ʿAzzah, and ʿAzaʾel taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down."[300]

1.8 The Watchers' Corruption of the Law of the Stars

Our study has demonstrated that the early Enochic accounts contain a complex panorama of the Watchers' corruption of God's creation. The list of their transgressions includes not only their violation of "traditional" biblical commandments by their forbidden dalliances with women, magic, and divination,[301] but also, more importantly, their breach of the commandments of the cosmological law or the "law of the stars," a term we have already encountered in *1 Enoch* 80:7 and *1 Enoch* 82:9. In order to understand better this complex epistemological and nomological construct, we must take a closer look at examples of the "legal" language applied to various cosmological phenomena in early Enochic booklets.[302]

Already in the earliest Enochic documents, the seer learns both about the cosmological phenomena and the "laws" of these entities. Thus, in *1 Enoch* 73:1–74:9, the patriarch comes to know about the "laws of the moon." Such legal terminology can be found in many places in the early Enochic booklets,[303] the meaning of which is often rendered by the Ethiopic terms *šerʿāt*[304] and *teʿzāz* in the Geʿez text.[305] We find these terms in many passages of the *Astronomical Book*.[306] *1 Enoch* 82:9, for example, elaborates on the "law of the stars," offering the following explanation:

> This is the law of the stars (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡) which set in their places, at their times, at their set times, and in their months. These are the names of those who lead them, who keep watch, so they enter at their times, who lead them in their places, in their orders, in their times, in their months, in their jurisdictions, and in their positions.[307]

This passage connects the "law of the stars" with the spatial and temporal characteristics of the stars' locations or "stations,"[308] considering this nomological system as the permanent cosmological setup where the "stars" and their "leaders"[309] operate in their proper positions, jurisdictions, and assigned trajectories, which have to be followed at appointed times.[310] *1 Enoch* 82:9 thus presents the cosmological law as the strict topological and chronological parameters of the stars' heavenly trajectories that cannot be violated.[311]

Emphasizing the permanence of the astronomical bodies' motions, *1 Enoch* 41:5 affirms that "they do not leave the course, and they neither extend nor diminish their course. And they keep faith with one another according to the oath that they have <sworn>."[312] Furthermore, in *1 Enoch* 43:1–2, one learns that the stars are weighed according to their light, to the breadth of their spaces, and to the day of their appearing, possibly, to determine their "measure of righteousness": "And I saw other lightnings and stars of heaven; and I saw that he called them by their names, and they listened to him. I saw a righteous balance (መዳልው፡ ጽድቅ፡), how they are weighed according to their light, according to the breadth of their spaces and the day of their appearing. I saw how their revolution produces lightning, and their revolution is according to the number of the angels, and they keep their faith with one another."[313] Matthew Black suggests that the stars here are "judged according to the measure or mass or proportions of light they possess, but also in accordance with the width of their 'places' or

‘areas, spaces,’ possibly to be understood as the era of the sky they cover or traverse.”[314] One can see that the stars’ departure from the temporal and spatial parameters of their established paths is considered a legal transgression,[315] the violation of which carries severe consequences.[316] In early Enochic documents we learn about such violations and the punishments they entail.[317] The *Book of the Watchers* reflects this conception of the stars’ wrongdoing in *1 Enoch* 18:14. It interprets the stars’ abandonment of their appointed times and trajectories as the violation of the cosmological rules or “commandments.” In *1 Enoch* 18 the seer beholds the places of the rebellious stars’ imprisonment. When Enoch asks about the reason for the stars’ incarceration, he learns that it happened because they “transgressed the command (ትእዛዘ) of the Lord (οἱ παραβάντες πρόσταγμα κυρίου)[318] in the beginning of their rising, for they did not come out in their appointed times.”[319] Several experts see in these and other formulae possible allusions to the Torah of creation.[320] Reflecting on the Watchers’ punishment in *1 Enoch* 18, Argall says that “at the end of this journey, Enoch sees the place where the rebel Watchers are held and punished until the day of the great judgment (*1 Enoch* 18:6–19:2) … the reference to stars presupposes the existence of an astronomical Torah among the heavenly mysteries revealed to Enoch.”[321] In another part of his study, Argall points out that “among the books of Enoch’s testament, then, are traditions that comprise an astronomical Torah (a Torah of the stars was presupposed in *1 Enoch* 17–19).”[322] The *Book of the Watchers* also provides a vivid illustration of what kind of chaos the stars’ violation of their “laws” can inflict on the cosmological order when, in *1 Enoch* 21, the seer is transported to the place of the fallen stars’ incarceration. There Enoch sees “a chaotic and terrible place” with “neither heaven above, nor firmly founded earth.”[323] Here the tumultuous and “unstructured”[324] character of the rogue agents’ cosmological prison serves as a reminder of the nature of their transgressions.

The *Astronomical Book* also demonstrates the relevant conception of the stars’ violation of their cosmological trajectories/commandments when, in *1 Enoch* 80:6, it foretells that, during the eschatological crisis, “many heads of the stars will stray from the command (ትእዛዝ) and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them.”[325] Importantly, the passage speaks not only about the stars but about their “heads,” who will stray from the command, evoking the familiar role of the fallen Watchers as the former guardians of cosmological phenomena.

Understanding the Watchers’ transgression as violation of proper spatial (“will change their ways and actions”) and temporal (“will not appear at the times prescribed for them”) cosmological parameters sheds a new light on the tradition of the disharmonious bodies of the Watchers’ illicit offspring – the Giants. The unnatural composite creatures, whose physical forms do not correspond to the spatial and environmental parameters of the earthly realm, serve as visual reminders of not only the sexual sins but also the violations of the divine measurements committed by their fathers.

The legal language applied in some descriptions of the Watchers’ violations of the cosmological law (or a “Torah of the stars” as Argall called it) appears to exhibit similarities to halakhic formulations since it describes a system of binding rules of behavior for cosmological agents. The revelations given to Enoch in the form of cosmological measurements serve as quantitative expressions of these rules.[326] The legal emphasis comes to its important symbolic threshold in *1 Enoch* 106:13 where we learn that the Watchers “transgressed the word of the Lord from the covenant of heaven (παρέβησαν τὸν λόγον κυρίου ἀπὸ τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).”[327] This enigmatic phrase can be understood as a reference to the commandments (“words of the Lord”) of the heavenly law.[328]

For our study, it is important that in the aforementioned passages the “law of the stars” becomes “embodied” through the configurations or measurements of the established paths of the stars and their angelic leaders. Adhering to or departing from these routes is understood in this legal framework as the fulfillment or violation of halakhic precepts.[329] This law can be envisioned as a specimen of cosmological clockwork automata, with the stars and their leaders as its pieces, where their established locations and trajectories have epistemological and nomological significance, representing the “embodied halakhot” of this cosmological covenant.

The embodiment of heavenly legal knowledge in otherworldly figures has its roots in an ancient epistemology that was prevalent at the time of the early Enochic booklets’ composition. In this epistemological framework, heavenly knowledge was depicted as originating, as well as permanently and objectively existing, in the heavenly realm in celestial tablets, books,[330] and patterns.[331] These heavenly media were often understood not merely as “books” or “tablets” in their conventional sense

but also as attributes or parts of celestial organisms – forms, limbs, and garments of heavenly beings, on which divine knowledge became permanently affixed. Various Jewish apocalyptic and mystical accounts describe celestial knowledge being inscribed on God's palms,[332] his throne,[333] his celestial curtain,[334] and his servants' bodies and accoutrement.[335] Furthermore, symbolic embodiment is often applied to heavenly legal constructs in examples like the depictions of the Torah's embodiment in heavenly beings.[336] The "law of the stars" shows such embodiment of heavenly legal knowledge and its corruption. In this understanding, the Watchers' rejection of their appointed times and trajectories during their rogue descent to the earth pairs together ontology and epistemology, ethics and knowledge. By altering their original trajectories and times, the Watchers have not only violated the moral covenant of the stars and irreparably altered their own ontological and moral status, but by their rogue actions they have also corrupted the law itself, the cosmological mysteries which were embodied in them and in their eternal temporal and spatial assignments.[337]

This concept of the embodied "law of the stars" being corrupted by the fallen Watchers' rogue activity has paramount significance for understanding Enoch's soteriological actions in the early Enochic booklets. It provides a novel epistemological and nomological framework, in which the hero's own spatial transitions to the places once abandoned by the rogue guardians receive a profound soteriological significance. When he visits the places abandoned by the Watchers, Enoch restores the legal "commandments" of the cosmological law. The importance of this revelation is summed up in *1 Enoch* 79:1 when all Enoch's cosmological revelations are designated as the "law of the stars": "Now my son I have shown you everything, and the law of all the stars of the sky is completed."[338]

Furthermore, if the "laws" are indeed understood as "cosmological *halakhot*," it is noteworthy how the seer learns this "law of the stars." Like in the Mosaic Torah where the Law is illustrated through the actions of various human characters (e.g., Abraham, Jacob, and Isaac), the "law of the stars" is made visible, for Enoch, in the actions of the heavenly bodies – the sun, the moon, and the stars. Thus, reflecting on *1 Enoch* 73:1 where Enoch "saw a second law for the smaller luminary whose name is the moon," August Dillmann points out that "das Gesetz wird ihm anschaulich gemacht am Lauf."[339]

In this epistemological framework, Enoch's counting, measuring, weighing, and recording of the precise movements and locations of the luminaries, the stars, and other cosmological phenomena may be seen as efforts to restore the cosmological covenant, or the "law of the stars," which was corrupted by the fallen angels' actions. It is this conceptual background the authors of the *Book of the Jubilees* have in mind when they speak about the *halakha* that is immanent in creation.[340]

1.9 Conclusion: The Enochic Etiology of Evil and Cosmological Mysteries

Our exploration of the law of the stars and their angelic participants points to the complexity of the Enochic etiology of evil. Unlike its biblical counterpart in the initial chapters of the Book of Genesis, which locates the origin of sin in the first humans and their ethical decisions, the Enochic "transcendental" mythology of corruption puts the blame on the moral choices of otherworldly figures – the fallen Watchers. The conceptual move extends the Enochic ethical and legal categories to the otherworldly figures, depicting them as transgressors of not only earthly but also cosmological laws. The law of the stars – with its imposition of an ethical framework on the realm of cosmological phenomena and their otherworldly guardians – becomes a natural choice for the fulfillment of the legal objectives of the Enochic etiology of evil. The fallen Watchers' close associations with the cosmological phenomena, hinted at through their theophoric names and the distinctive subjects of their illicit instruction, play an important part in these nomological formulations, identifying the Watchers not only as the guardians of the cosmological ethical order but also as its offenders.

Chapter Two The Mysteries of Enoch in *1 Enoch*

2.1 The Mysteries of Enoch in the *Book of the Watchers*

It has been suggested in our study that, in the early Enochic writings, the corrupting effects of the illicit revelation of heavenly mysteries is mitigated by Enoch's access to thematically similar clusters of secrets.[341] It is important that Enoch does not learn these mysteries merely by reading earthly books or listening to earthly teachers' instructions; instead, he travels to the otherworldly realms in order to behold with his own eyes the phenomena that stand behind them. In the ancient epistemological framework, wherein divine knowledge can be present in heaven as an objective reality, the boundaries between cosmological marvels and the reified knowledge about them are blurred. In this respect, it is possible that the map of Enoch's otherworldly journeys corresponds to the map of cosmological knowledge. The association is articulated with utmost clarity in accounts like *2 Enoch* where the patriarch travels through various heavens, viewing each heaven's peculiar cosmological content. This pattern gives the impression that certain divine knowledge can be accessed and obtained only in certain otherworldly locations and nowhere else.[342] Such "epistemological topology" provides additional insights for understanding the epistemological nature of the "law of the stars" and why the fallen Watchers' secrets, once they were "moved" to the lower realm without God's approval, became "worthless mysteries."

In early Enochic accounts the boundaries between actual cosmological phenomena and the knowledge about them is blurred. In the heavens, the seer beholds not only the sun and the moon but also the calculations and measurements pertaining to these astronomical bodies. He sees the complex calendrical and nomological entities as objects in heaven.[343] On his journeys he interacts with astronomical and meteorological realities as well as reified knowledge about these phenomena. The scope of his interests consistently has a soteriological focus. The salvatory effect of Enoch's actions is demonstrated at the very beginning of his heavenly journey to the divine Throne room. In *1 Enoch* 14:8–9, the seer is welcomed and embraced by astronomical and meteorological phenomena, the realities affected most by the illicit deeds of the fallen Watchers: "in the vision it was shown to me thus: Look, clouds in the vision were summoning me, and mists were crying out to me; and shooting stars and lightning flashes were hastening me and speeding me along, and winds in my vision made me fly up and lifted me upward and brought me to heaven."[344] The picture of summoned clouds, crying mists, shooting stars, and lightnings eagerly hastening to Enoch shows God's creation fervently welcoming their rescuer. Enoch is predestined not merely to "behold" these cosmological phenomena but also to be involved in recording, measuring, counting, and weighing them, which has salvific significance. The "practical" approach to divine knowledge shown by the patriarch inversely mirrors the illicit delivery of the fallen angels' mysteries, which are also presented as *technai*.[345]

Scholars have previously noted that the wide scope of the subjects revealed by the Watchers is meticulously reiterated in the disclosures to the seer.[346] One of the pivotal subjects that plays an equally important role in both the Watchers' illicit instructions and in the revelations passed to Enoch is astronomical knowledge.[347] This type of disclosure, which includes knowledge about two major luminaries (the sun and the moon) and the stars, appears in early Enochic writings in the midst of other related revelatory subjects, including calendrical and meteorological realities.[348]

In *1 Enoch* 17, which describes the beginning of Enoch's journey to the northwest, the reader learns a few details of the astronomical and meteorological disclosures revealed to the seventh antediluvian hero. In 17:3, Enoch sees "the place of the luminaries and the treasuries of the stars and of the thunders, and to the depths of the ether, where the bow of fire and the arrows and their quivers (were) and the sword of fire and all the lightnings."[349] Nickelsburg points out that "this station in Enoch's journey is of broader cosmological significance. He sees beyond earth's surface up into the sources of the celestial luminescent phenomena."[350]

In *1 Enoch* 17:5–8, Enoch beholds some geographical realities, including rivers and the great sea, which again evoke memory of the Watchers' revelations hinted through their names: "And I came to the river of fire, in which fire flows down like water and discharges into the great sea of the west. I saw

all the great rivers. And I arrived at the great river and the great darkness. And I departed (for) where no flesh walks. I saw the wintry winds of darkness and the gushing of all the waters of the abyss. I saw the mouth of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the abyss."[351]

In *1 Enoch* 18:1–5 the seer learns about the treasuries of the winds: "I saw the treasuries of all the winds. I saw how through them he ordered all created things. I saw the foundation of the earth and the cornerstone of the earth. I saw the four winds bearing the earth and the firmament of heaven. And I saw how the winds stretch out the height of heaven. They stand between earth and heaven; they are the pillars of heaven. I saw the winds of heaven that turn and bring to (their) setting the disk of the sun and all the stars. I saw the winds on the earth bearing the clouds. I saw the paths of the angels. I saw at the ends of the earth the firmament of heaven above."[352] One can see interrelationships in the functioning of astronomical and meteorological phenomena. The passage affirms, as VanderKam notes, that "the winds play a role in the movements of the sun, stars, and clouds."[353]

An important element of the disclosures to Enoch is the juxtaposition of cosmological and penitentiary symbolism when the elements of created order become cells for celestial rebels. We encounter such correlations in *1 Enoch* 18–19 where Enoch learns the mysteries of judgment by visiting the places of imprisoned fallen angels. Since some of the Watchers' names, like Daniel, can be associated with the mysteries of judgment, this part of Enoch's revelation may also find its inverse counterpart in the Watchers' illicit pedagogy. Notably, two clusters of secrets – the mysteries about the state of cosmological elements of creation and the mysteries related to the moral state of (angelic) creatures and their judgment – are closely intertwined. Our previous investigations have demonstrated that Enochic authors saw these two subjects (the state of cosmological phenomena and the state of moral order) as closely interconnected. Although in previous studies the didactic dimension of cosmological knowledge has often been noticed and celebrated,[354] the same studies have often ignored another important aspect of the cosmological revelations – their legal or halakhic dimension. Yet, our study has proposed that the cosmological revelations unveiled to the seventh patriarch may serve in the *Book of the Watchers* and other early Enochic books as the archetypal halakhic prescriptions. It has been suggested that the "cosmological" *halakha* or the "law of the stars" is revealed not through stories of human interactions, as in the Torah, but, instead, in the accounts of the processions of astronomical bodies and meteorological entities where their "measurements" are envisioned as cosmological "commandments." This tendency to view the cosmological measurements, especially ones embodied in calendar, as halakhic regulations for human behavior is articulated explicitly in the *Book of Jubilees*.[355] In the summary of Enoch's main accomplishments provided by *Jub.* 4:17–19, one can see an emphasis on two subjects: Enoch's knowledge of cosmological measurements embodied in calendrical patterns and his knowledge of the mysteries of judgment.[356] Experts have interpreted the calendrical traditions transmitted by Enoch as halakhic instructions. Van Ruiten points out that "the halakhic instructions that are written in the books of the fathers are about several subjects. Enoch wrote down 'the signs of the sky in accord with fixed patterns of their months.'"[357]

The juxtaposition of the cosmological and ethical dimensions of the mysteries revealed to Enoch finds further expression in *1 Enoch* 18:10–19:3 where the seer beholds the place of the fallen Watchers' interim punishment. In this vision, the seventh patriarch sees what the text describes as "pillars of fire descending," being placed in a deep chasm of the earth. Enoch's angelic guide, Uriel, identifies these pillars as the demoted Watchers:

> 18:10 And beyond these mountains is a place, the edge of the great earth; there the heavens come to an end. 18:11 And I saw a great chasm among pillars of heavenly fire. And I saw in it pillars of fire descending; and they were immeasurable toward the depth and toward the height. 19:1 And Uriel said to me, "There stand the angels who mingled with the women. And their spirits – having assumed many forms – bring destruction on men and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons as to gods until the day of the great judgment, in which they will be judged with finality. 19:2 And the wives of the transgressing angels will become sirens." 18:12 Beyond this chasm I saw a place where there was neither firmament of heaven above, nor firmly founded earth beneath it. Neither was there water on it, nor bird; but the place was desolate and fearful. 18:13 There I saw seven stars like

> great burning mountains. 18:14 To me, when I inquired about them, the angel said, "This place is the end of heaven and earth; this has become a prison for the stars and the hosts of heaven. 18:15 The stars that are rolling over in the fire, these are they that transgressed the command of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, for they did not come out in their appointed times. 18:16 And he was angry with them and bound them until the time of the consummation of their sins – ten thousand years." 19:3 I, Enoch, alone saw the visions, the extremities of all things. And no one among humans has seen as I saw.[358]

The punishment of the fallen Watchers is retold here with striking language that suggests, before their final judgment, the Watchers are possibly being used for a cosmological foundation. The antagonists in their punishment paradoxically secure the stability of God's creation. Here again cosmology and judgment are closely intertwined as the cosmological setting supplies the bonds that hold the antagonists. The Watchers' punishment mimics their fall. Guilty of wayward progression from their assigned cosmological positions, they are deprived of the capacity for any movement. Embedded in the midst of cosmological realities that firmly uphold God's laws, the agents of rebellion not only become neutralized and "stabilized," they serve as signs of creation's harmony, portrayed as essential parts of its foundation. It is also significant that the *Book of the Watchers* describes the fiery pillars as "immeasurable" in their height and depth,[359] pointing to their cosmological nature. Reflecting on the dimensions of the pillars, Nickelsburg suggests that "although the text appears to describe the pillars of fire as immeasurable, both upward and downward, the parallel text in *1 Enoch* 21:7 may indicate that originally this was a description of the size of this yawning gulf. Nonetheless, here the immeasurable depth of the pillars indicates a 'bottomless' pit."[360] Nickelsburg further identifies the fiery pillars with the fallen Watchers by noting that the "analogy with vv. 13 and 15 suggests … that the pillars are themselves the angels, an interpretation borne out by 19:1."[361] Further along in his study, Nickelsburg again affirms this identification by noting that "the traditional association of the noun 'column' and the verb 'stand' … suggests that the pillars in 18:10 are the suffering watchers, said to be 'standing' (19:1) in the chasm."[362] Nickelsburg's suggestions have gained widespread support among students of this Enochic text. One of the leading experts in Enochic cosmological traditions, Kelley Coblentz Bautch, embraces Nickelsburg's hypothesis, noting that "it is plausible that an association between the pillars of heavenly fire (18:11) and the angels of 19:1 was intended by the author."[363] Later in her study, Coblentz Bautch also notes that "the expression 'pillars of heavenly fire' calls to mind a display of divine might. For example, in Gen 19:24, Ps 11:6, and Ezek 38:22 God rains fire and sulfur from heaven on the wicked … perhaps the pillars of fire in *1 Enoch* 18:11 are the shape-shifting watchers of *1 Enoch* 19:1 and are comparable in kind to the fiery beings of *1 Enoch* 17:1."[364]

The depiction of the Watchers as pillars of creation installed in the primordial abyss conveys both a paradox and an irony. The fallen Watchers, who in the past were responsible for unleashing ultimate chaos on God's creation, now by the Creator's will are forced to assume the opposite role, stabilizing the created order as pillars. Reflecting on these developments, Nickelsburg points out that "God has structured into the cosmos ('prepared') the places that guarantee the reality of the coming judgment and its rewards and punishments. Thus, God's creation anticipated the judgment and serves as its instrument."[365]

Another important cluster of secrets revealed to Enoch deals with elements of creation, including metals, stones, and plants. As already established in this study, the secrets illicitly disclosed by the fallen angels in the *Book of the Watchers* include mysteries related to metals, stones, and plants. *1 Enoch* 8 specifically mentions *precious stones*, *antimony*, *metals*, and *roots* of plants,[366] listing them among the subjects in the corrupting revelations unveiled to humans by Asael and the other angels:

> Asael … showed them *metals of the earth* and how they should work gold to fashion it suitably, and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets and ornaments for women. And *he showed them concerning antimony* and eye paint and *all manner of precious stones and dyes* … . Shemihazah taught spells and the *cutting of roots*.[367]

In light of these traditions, it is appropriate that in early Enochic booklets the hero also receives disclosures related to these entities, which are described, in Enoch's case, as "mountains" of precious

stones, metals, and plants.[368] Scholars have previously suggested that these mysteries serve as conceptual counterparts to the secrets revealed by the fallen Watchers to humankind upon their descent.[369]

Enoch, specifically, visits the mountains of precious stones (*1 Enoch* 18:6–9), including the mountain of antimony (*1 Enoch* 18:8) as well as the mountains of vegetation (*1 Enoch* 32).[370] Later in the *Book of the Similitudes* he also receives a revelation about the mountains of metals (*1 Enoch* 52), another crucial element of creation, knowledge of which was illicitly revealed by the Watchers.

1 Enoch 18:6–9 provides the following description of the seven mountains of precious stones:[371]

> I came and saw a place that was burning night and day, where (there were) seven mountains of precious stones – three lying to the east and three to the south. And of those to the east, <one was> of colored stone, and one was of pearl, and one was of <jasper>. And those to the south were of flame-colored stone. And the middle one of them reached to heaven like the throne of God – of antimony; and the top of the throne was of lapis lazuli. And I saw a burning fire.[372]

It is evident that the purpose of Enoch's visit to these locations is not only the satisfaction of curiosity. By traveling to and gaining knowledge about these archetypal objects, the seventh antediluvian hero may mitigate the harmful effects of the Watchers' illicit disclosures about the metals, epistemologically and ontologically "rehabilitating" them. By doing so, Enoch proleptically restores the lost "balance" of creation, which was disturbed by the fallen angels' misdeeds. Reed's research underlines "the concern for the orderliness of Creation" in the *Book of the Watchers*, expressed particularly "in *1 Enoch* 1–5, 17–19, and 20–36."[373]

Although in some Enochic accounts Enoch learns the essence of various natural and cosmological phenomena by counting, measuring, and weighing the sun, the moon, the rain, and the winds, it is possible that even by merely visiting these entities during his tours he is able to reorder and harmonize them. A testimony found in *Jub.* 4 points to such a possibility when it depicts Enoch's presence as a stabilizing force, utilizing the imagery of the cosmic dam that holds the waters of the Deluge*. Jub* 4:23–26 reads,

> He was taken from human society, and we led him into the Garden of Eden for (his) greatness and honor. Now he is there writing down the judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wickedness of mankind. Because of him the flood water did not come on any of the land of Eden because he was placed there as a sign and to testify against all people in order to tell all the deeds of history until the day of judgment. He burned the evening incense of the sanctuary which is acceptable before the Lord on the mountain of incense. For there are four places on earth that belong to the Lord: The Garden of Eden, the mountain of the east, this mountain on which you are today – Mt. Sinai – and Mt. Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the earth. For this reason, the earth will be sanctified from all its sins and from its uncleanness into the history of eternity.[374]

This passage demonstrates that Enoch by his mere presence in a certain locale is able to protect and heal that region of God's creation. In light of this possibility, his journeys to the archetypal "storages" of various phenomena appear to have not only epistemological significance but also additional soteriological meaning. Appropriately, in *Jub.* 4 Enoch's activities are associated with "the new creation for the sanctification of the earth."

In the final chapters of the *Book of the Watchers*, during his journey eastward, Enoch receives a more detailed revelation about the stars. During the reception of this revelation, he also performs actions that he has never previously done with regard to cosmological secrets. In *1 Enoch* 33:2, Enoch says that

> I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and I counted the gates from which they come forth, and I wrote down all their outlets, one by one, according to their number and their names, according to their conjunction and their position and their time and their months, as Uriel, the holy angel who was with me, showed me. He showed me and wrote down for me everything, and also he wrote

down their names and their appointed times and their functions.[375]

Enoch's engagement with the cosmological mysteries in this passage is strikingly different from his earlier acquisition of secrets in the *Book of the Watchers*.[376] Here, he suddenly counts meticulously the stars' gates and also records their numbers, names, ranks, seats, periods, and months. Although he previously wrote a petition on behalf of the Watchers,[377] he has never previously recorded any knowledge about stars.

Enoch's recording activities again point to the link between cosmology and *halakha*.[378] As has been already suggested in our study it appears that the Enochic tradition understands the appointed times, seats, and trajectories of the stars and luminaries as cosmological *halakhot*. As one remembers, *1 Enoch* 18:14 interprets the violation of the stars' appointed times and trajectories as the violation of the *halakha*. When Enoch asks about the transgression of the stars that are rolling over in the fire, Enoch receives the following answer: "the stars that are rolling over in the fire, these are they that transgressed the command (ትእዛዝ) of the Lord (οἱ παραβάντες πρόσταγμα κυρίου)[379] in the beginning of their rising, for they did not come out in their appointed times."[380] In its turn, *1 Enoch* 80:6 claims that during the eschatological calamity "many heads of the stars will stray from the command (ትእዛዝ) and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them."[381] *1 Enoch* 82:9–10 elaborates on the details of the "law of the stars": "This is the law of the stars (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡) which set in their places, at their times, at their set times, and in their months. These are the names of those who lead them, who keep watch so they enter at their times, who lead them in their places, in their orders, in their times, in their months, in their jurisdictions, and in their positions."[382] VanderKam points out that "v. 9 provides some detail about what the law covers: their places of setting, their times, their set times, and their months."[383]

If the Enochic tradition indeed understands the appointed times, trajectories, and seats of the stars and the luminaries as commandments or *halakhot*, then Enoch's recording of this information in *1 Enoch* 33:2 can be understood as his copying the heavenly Torah and its *halakhot*.

2.2 The Mysteries of Enoch in the *Astronomical Book*

As previously seen, at the end of the *Book of the Watchers*, Enoch, under the supervision of his celestial guide Uriel, is able to put into writing detailed knowledge about the stars and their features, including "their names, their laws, and their companies."[384] Experts rightly connect some of these formulations from the *Book of the Watchers* with a broader cluster of cosmological revelations in the *Astronomical Book*. This text provides crucial insight into the scope of Enoch's epistemological profile, especially, in relation to his expertise in astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical knowledge. Overall, the *Astronomical Book* can be seen as a complex cosmological compendium. An in-depth investigation of the provenance and scientific details of its intricate cosmology would transcend the boundaries of this study. Our task is more limited, related merely to several topics in the cosmological revelations that Enoch receives in the *Astronomical Book*.

Before we proceed to the close examination of these subjects, several words should be said about the profile of the main revealer of these mysteries – the angel Uriel. Some scholars have previously suggested that the name of this angel may reflect the content of his revelations. Such a situation would represent a conceptual counterpart to the fallen Watchers' names, which are also tied to the subjects of their disclosures. Davidson suggests that "Uriel's name (אוריאל) means 'light of God' and it is logical that he should be associated with the heavenly bodies."[385] He further observes that "in the *Astronomical Book*, Uriel's roles as the angel over the luminaries and the revealer of the divinely ordained calendar are predominant. His function in revelation can be contrasted with the motif of false teaching by the angels under Asael in the *Book of the Watchers*."[386]

In the *Astronomical Book*, Enoch learns about a range of already familiar subjects, including astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical phenomena. In *1 Enoch* 72, for example, the seer learns about the secrets of the sun. The revelations also involve calendrical and meteorological details associated with the sun's activity. Contextualizing the interrelations between astronomical subjects on one hand and meteorological, calendrical, and geographical ones on the other, VanderKam notes that

these kind of sections "in astronomical/astrological works are expected, as the sun, moon, and stars were thought to affect events in different places on the earth."[387] Relatedly, in *1 Enoch* 73–74, the disclosures concerning the moon are also enhanced with calendrical and meteorological details.[388]

For our study it is also important that Enoch not only beholds cosmological realities but he also records and counts them. Thus, in *1 Enoch* 74:1–2, he writes down the positions of heavenly bodies and the related calendrical correspondences: "another course and law I saw for it; by that law it carries out its monthly course. All this Uriel the holy angel who is the leader of them all showed me. Their positions I wrote down as he showed me and I wrote down their months as they were and the appearance of their light until fifteen days were completed."[389] In his writing routines, Enoch emulates the scribal expertise of his mentor, Uriel.[390]

The motif of Enoch's scribal activities appears again in later chapters of the *Astronomical Book*, which some scholars believe may represent later additions to the original core of the text. In *1 Enoch* 81:5–6, Enoch is ordered to write down knowledge for his children.[391] In *1 Enoch* 82:1, the patriarch tells his son that his writings need to be passed to future generations.[392] From the later chapters of the *Astronomical Book* we also learn about the patriarch's counting expertise, especially, in relation to the calendar. In *1 Enoch* 82:4–8, Enoch delivers to Methuselah information that includes some calendrical details:

> 82.4. Blessed are all the righteous, all the blessed who will walk in the way of righteousness and have no sin like the sinners in numbering all the days the sun travels in the sky through the gates, entering and emerging for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the stars, with the four additional ones that divide between the four parts of the year that lead them and enter with the four days. 82.5. People err regarding them and do not calculate them in the numbering of the entire year because they err regarding them and people do not understand them precisely. 82.6. For they belong in the reckoning of the year and are indeed recorded forever: one in the first gate, one in the third, one in the fourth, and one in the sixth. Thus, a year of 364 days is completed. 82.7. The account about it is true and its calculation is precisely recorded because the luminaries and the months, the festivals, the years, and the days he showed me, and Uriel, to whom the Lord of the entire creation gave orders for me regarding the host of heaven, breathed on me. 82.8. He has power in heaven over night and day to make light appear over humanity: the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the heavenly powers which revolve in their circuits.[393]

Importantly, *1 Enoch* 82:4 connects righteousness and sin with proper or improper calendrical calculations. Wrong calculations are interpreted as "sin."

Another important detail is the comprehensiveness of the patriarch's knowledge. The motif is reflected in Uriel's admonition found in *1 Enoch* 80:1: "At that time Uriel the angel responded to me: 'I have now shown you everything, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to you so that you may see this sun and this moon and those who lead the stars of the sky and all those who turn them – their work, their times, and their emergences.'"[394] The comprehensiveness of Enoch's knowledge – now gathered in a single human mind – forms a striking contrast to the fragmented knowledge of the Watchers since the Watchers are linked to only one aspect of the cosmological mysteries each, the ones reflected in their names.

Like other Enochic booklets, an important feature of the *Astronomical Book* is the interrelationship between the cosmological order and human ethics. We have already encountered the correlation in the initial chapters of the *Book of the Watchers*. The *Astronomical Book* contains another forceful expression. In the past some scholars have ignored this link between the cosmological and ethical dimensions of the *Astronomical Book* and the importance of the proper astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical correspondences for the ethical functioning of social groups and individuals. For example, reflecting on the content and purpose of the *Astronomical Book*, R. H. Charles argued that

> in this treatise the writer attempts to bring the many utterances regarding physical phenomena into one system, and puts this forward as the genuine and biblical one as opposed to all other systems. The paramount, and indeed the only aim of this book … is to give the laws of the heavenly bodies, and this object it pursues undeviatingly from its beginning to lxxix. 1, where it is said that the treatise

> is finished and all the laws of the heavenly bodies set forth. Through all these chapters there is not a single ethical reference. The author has no other interest save a scientific one colored by Jewish conceptions and beliefs.[395]

It appears that, by ignoring the ethical dimension of cosmological speculations, Charles has missed the essential feature of the Enochic tradition. Namely, Charles misses that the "system of physical phenomena," which includes "the laws of the heavenly bodies," constitutes the archetypal ethical framework for the proper moral and social life of human community.

Charles' view has been corrected in recent scholarship. Davidson points to the deficiency of an oversimplified approach, arguing that "there is an underlying apologetic and polemical motivation. The solar and sidereal movements control a calendar that is invariable from year to year, but it is not only scientifically better to use it. It is a matter of sin and righteousness for our author … The calendar describes things 'as they are, and for the years of the World to eternity, until the creation will be made anew to last forever' (*1 Enoch* 72:1)."[396]

Davidson further suggests that "noncompliance with this particular calendar amounts to wickedness committed against God. … The whole scheme depends on the heavenly bodies all performing what they are commanded to do."[397] Indeed, an improper calendar affects not only the ethical dimension, but many other facets of the social world envisioned by the Enochic tradition, including the agricultural and cultic life of the community. Davidson points out that "failure to observe the true calendar leads to confusion with the seasons, rains and harvests, and the movements of the moon and many stars get out of phase in relation to the calendar (*1 Enoch* 80:2–8)."[398] The *Astronomical Book* forcefully affirms the relationships between God's creation and the moral life of the community, which can only function properly through calendrical alignment.

2.3 The Mysteries of Enoch in the *Epistle of Enoch*

In the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers*, Enoch not only beholds astronomical, meteorological, and calendrical entities, but meticulously measures, counts, and records knowledge pertaining to them. The "practical" interaction with the cosmological secrets comes to its important symbolic threshold in *1 Enoch* 93:11–14, a passage situated in the so-called *Epistle of Enoch*. Scholars usually trace the composition of the *Epistle* to the second century B.C.E.[399] *1 Enoch* 93:11–14 presents the following discourse:

> 93:11. For who is there of all the sons of men who is able to hear the words of the Holy One and not be terrified; and who is able to think his thoughts? And who is there of all men who is able to look at all the works of heaven, 12. Or to see a soul or a spirit and is able to tell? Or to ascend and see all their ends, and to consider them or make (something) like them? 13. Or who is there of all men who is able to know what is the width and length of the earth; and to whom has the size of all them been shown? 14. And who is there of all men who is able to know the length of the heavens, and what is their height and upon what they are founded? And what is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?[400]

This passage posits several rhetorical questions, the purpose of which appear to be the affirmation of the incomprehensibility of the works of creation to the human mind and the impossibility of human beings counting and measuring God's creation. The literary form of these formulations is not entirely new, it recalls biblical and extra-biblical passages[401] in which human beings are challenged by God or his angels to measure, count, or weigh various "incomprehensible" astronomical and meteorological marvels.[402] Yet, as Argall rightly observes, in the apocalyptic tradition these questions play a different function,[403] evoking some details of Enoch's measuring and calculating routines as reflected in various early Enochic documents. Several other scholars have also noted these allusions. George Nickelsburg points out that "it is generally recognized that the verses allude to the content of some of Enoch's visions."[404] In another section of his commentary, Nickelsburg elaborates more thoroughly on this connection, suggesting that

> the allusion to Enoch's visions is clear. In [*1 Enoch*] 14:24–16:3 Enoch – who has been quaking at the sight of the enthroned Deity – hears God's voice (see esp. 15:1 and cf. 93:11). In his journeys in chaps. 17–19 and 21–32 he sees the extent of the earth, although it is not said that he has learned its measurements (93:13). In chaps. 18, 32, and 72–82 he is taken through the heavens, and in chap. 18 and in 33:2, he sees the foundations of the firmament. According to 33:3–4 he has learned the number of the stars, and in chaps. 72–82 he perceives the movements of the luminaries (93:11, 14). In chap. 22 he views the repository of the souls of the dead (93:12).[405]

Nickelsburg also discerns parallels between *1 Enoch* 93:11–14 and later Enochic texts, including *2 Enoch* 33–44, which we will explore as we go further in our study.[406] If *1 Enoch* 93:11–14 speaks about Enoch's proficiency, then the scope of his expertise compares neatly to *2 Enoch*, wherein the patriarch's measuring and calculating prowess progresses to an unprecedented level. In this respect, the testimony found in *1 Enoch* 93:11–14 is very important for our study since it demonstrates that *2 Enoch*'s developments are not merely an invention of its authors but are rooted in other early Enochic materials. We will explore these connections later in our study.

Nickelsburg's insights reflect the broader scholarly consensus.[407] Many leading experts of the Enochic traditions firmly uphold the view that *1 Enoch* 93:11–14 speaks about Enoch's achievements.[408] Thus, reflecting on the rhetorical questions found in *1 Enoch* 93, VanderKam suggests that "once the reader moves beyond the first two questions, the transparent answer to each of them should be 'Enoch,' who, on his travels with the angels, had seen all the heavenly bodies, all the earth, had been told the laws governing nature, and had seen the fate of all."[409] VanderKam further notes that despite that "the series of questions is phrased in a way that reminds one of biblical passages such as Job 38," where "the point is to highlight the vast distance between God and humans."[410] He observes also that "one would think that the passage should be meant to praise the surpassing wisdom and knowledge of Enoch himself, the one who knew and understood all these deep matters."[411] Another leading expert of early Enochic literature, Loren Stuckenbruck, points out that the declaration found "in 93:11–14 of the unknowability of God's thoughts and of the vast, created cosmos … runs counter to the emphasis on the disclosure of special knowledge which is made throughout the early Enochic tradition."[412] He notes that in the Enochic tradition, Enoch functions

> as the quintessential recipient of divine revelation (e.g. the throne vision of 14:8–23; 19:34). He receives, for instance, knowledge about the extent of heaven and earth, and of the heavenly luminaries in the *Astronomical Book* (72:1–80:8; 82:7–20). Enoch, moreover, is given in the *Book of the Watchers* to hear God's voice in 14:24–16:3 (cf. 15:1 and 93:11) and is taken on journeys during which he is shown the main features and extent of the earth (17:1–19:3; 21:1–32:6; and 33:1–36:4). Finally, Enoch's special understanding of God's works in creation is emphasized in the later *Similitudes* (41:3–7; 43:1–2; 60:11–22), as well as in *2 Enoch* (23:1; 24:3; 25:1–30:18; 36:3 [Rec. A]; 40:2–13).[413]

Stuckenbruck concludes by saying that "in short, the rhetorical questions, placed within the Enochic tradition, make Enoch stand out sharply as the unique revealer of wisdom."[414]

Indeed, Enoch's measuring, weighing, and counting routines points to his special expertise, which is usually assigned to the deity elsewhere in Jewish lore. Reflecting on *1 Enoch* 93:14b, in which the rhetorical question about the number of stars presumes Enoch's expertise, Stuckenbruck reminds us that in some biblical and pseudepigraphical accounts, including Psalm 147:4 and *6 Ezra* 16:56, such knowledge is posited as a strict prerogative of God.[415] The same attitude is implied "in the rhetorical request in Genesis 15:5 that Abraham count the stars (which he cannot, because they are numbered beyond measure) to learn how many his descendants would be."[416] Stuckenbruck argues that "by contrast, Enoch is brought to the ends of the earth in *1 Enoch* 33:1–4, where he is allowed to observe the stars, count the 'gates' through which they enter and exit the horizons 'for each one individually according to their number and their names.'"[417]

On the whole, *1 Enoch* 93:11–14 offers a pivotal witness that testifies that in the early booklets of *1 Enoch* the expertise of the seventh antediluvian hero in measuring and counting of astronomical, meteorological, and geographical marvels is placed in the context of biblical traditions. In these traditions such activities are envisioned as the prerogatives of God, closely associated with the deity's

architectural and demiurgical actions.

2.4 The Mysteries of Enoch in the *Book of the Similitudes*

In its presentation of the cosmological mysteries received by Enoch, the *Book of the Similitudes* continues to affirm the parallelism between the Watchers' illicit disclosures and the subjects revealed to the seventh antediluvian hero. Thus, in the *Book of the Similitudes*, Enoch receives revelations about the stars (*1 Enoch* 43:1), the sun (*1 Enoch* 41:5–6, 8), and the moon (*1 Enoch* 41:7) that correspond to the illicit astrological, solar, and lunar divinations of the fallen Watchers.[418] In *1 Enoch* 41:1–3, Enoch becomes privy to the secrets of the lightnings, revelations that again evoke the Watchers' illicit lightning divination mentioned in *1 Enoch* 8:3.[419] In *1 Enoch* 52:1–9, Enoch visits the mountains of metals, which may serve as conceptual counterparts to the Watchers' revelations of metallurgical crafts.[420] The references to using iron in war and to a breastplate in this section likely refer back to the iron breastplates mentioned in *1 Enoch* 8:1.[421] It is not coincidental that the metal and metal objects that play an important role in the process of the humankind's corruption are named here as revelatory subjects of Enoch's initiation.

As previously discussed, the *Book of the Similitudes* contains several new traditions about the fallen angels, portraying them as revealers of mysteries related to the divine Name and the divine Presence. One can see similar novel advancements in the treatment of the mysteries revealed to Enoch. Important new developments include the regular usage of "storehouses" and "secrets" in their descriptions. Thus, in *1 Enoch* 41:3–5, when Enoch beholds familiar meteorological *omina*, he sees not only the lightnings or the thunder but also the "secrets" of these wonders:

> 41:3 And there my eyes saw the secrets (ሳቡኣት) of the lightnings and the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow upon the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and the dew. And there I saw whence they proceed in that place, and from there they saturate the dust of the earth. 41:4 There I saw closed storehouses (መዛግብት), and from them the winds are distributed; the storehouse of the hail and the winds, the storehouse of the mist and of the clouds, and its cloud abides over the earth since the beginning of the age. 41:5 And I saw the storehouses of the sun and the moon, from which they emerge and to which they return, and their glorious return, and how the one is more praiseworthy than the other, and their splendid course.[422]

Furthermore, these meteorological marvels emerge from "storehouses" that contain the winds, mist, clouds, and dew. The abundant presence of references to storehouses and secrets, which are either marginal or absent in Enoch's received revelations in the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*, is an important development that necessitates further investigation.

2.4.1 Storehouses of Meteorological and Astronomical Phenomena

The concept of heavenly storehouses/treasuries of astronomical and meteorological phenomena has its roots in biblical traditions.[423] VanderKam suggests that the imagery of "storehouses" in the *Similitudes* "could derive from the several scriptural passages that use it in a similar context."[424] The concept can be found in many biblical and extrabiblical accounts, including Deut 28:12,[425] Jer 10:13,[426] Jer 51:16,[427] Ps 135:7,[428] Job 38:22,[429] Sir 43:13–14,[430] *4 Ezra* 5:37,[431] *4 Ezra* 6:40,[432] *2 Enoch* 5:2,[433] *2 Enoch* 6:1,[434] and *2 Enoch* 40:10–11[435] and in other documents.[436] Various Jewish materials also display familiarity with notions of the heavenly storehouses/treasuries of light,[437] souls,[438] blessings,[439] books,[440] and other phenomena. It is also possible that, in their application of the storehouses/treasuries' imagery, the *Similitudes* continues already established conceptual trends found in the earlier Enochic booklets. Nickelsburg points out that the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 17:3,[441] *1 Enoch* 18:1[442]) reflects the concept of the heavenly treasuries/storehouses of meteorological and astronomical marvels, the imagery of which may serve as a prototype for the *Similitudes*.[443] Commenting on *1 Enoch* 41:3–5, Nickelsburg argues that "the author is once again following his prototype in the *Book of the Watchers* … . There, after Enoch had heard the sentence against the watchers (15:2–16:4), the author states, 'and they (the interpreting angels) took me and led me to a

certain place' (17:1). Then he sees the place of the luminaries and the treasuries (θησαυρούς) of the stars and of the thunders, and the place of all the lightnings (17:3). In time his journey takes him to the treasuries (θησαυρούς/*mazāgebt*) of all the winds (18:1–5)."[444]

Furthermore, the "storehouses" in the *Similitudes* may be related to the terminology of "gates" found in the *Astronomical Book*. Nickelsburg points out that "in the *Parables*, Enoch visits the 'treasuries' (*mazāgebt*) that are the containers of the luminaries and winds, while the *Book of the Luminaries* uniformly refers to the 'gates' (*ḫoḫt*, pl., *ḫāwāḫew*) from which they emerge, which are not mentioned in the *Parables*."[445]

A notable feature of the description found in *1 Enoch* 41:3–5 is the juxtaposition of "storehouses" and "secrets," which some scholars suggest are used interchangeably in the *Similitudes*. Jonathan Ben-Dov argues that in *1 Enoch* 41:3–4 "the luminaries and the meteorological phenomena are equally stored in special spaces, which are designated 'treasuries' and 'mysteries, secrets' interchangeably."[446] One may encounter a similar conceptual framework in *1 Enoch* 60:11–12, which refers to the concept of the "hidden secret" in the midst of symbolism of storehouses:

> And the other angel who went with me and showed me what is hidden told me what is first and last in heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the abyss, and at the ends of heaven and on the foundation of heaven, and in the storehouses (ወበመዛግቡተ) of the winds, how the winds are divided and how they are weighed, and how the springs of the winds are (divided and) numbered, according to the power of the wind, and the power of the light of the moon, and according to the power of righteousness.[447]

1 Enoch 60:19–21 provides additional details, depicting the angelic servants in charge of the meteorological storehouses:

> 60:19 And the wind of the mist is not mingled with them in their storehouses, but has a special storehouse, because its course is glorious, both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer and in its storehouse is an angel. 60:20 The wind of the dew, its dwelling (is) at the ends of the heaven, and it is connected with the storehouses of the rain, and its course (is) in winter and in summer, and its clouds and the clouds of the mist are associated, and the one gives to the other. 60:21 And when the wind of the rain moves from its storehouse, the angels come and open the storehouse, and bring it out, and when it is scattered on all the dry land, it is joined with the water that is on the dry land; and whenever it is joined with the water on the dry land …[448]

This portrayal of the angelic servants in charge of meteorological storehouse recalls a passage in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 6:1 where Enoch sees "the angels who guard their treasuries, and how they are shut and opened."[449]

In the *Similitudes*, the storehouses/treasuries contain both meteorological (hail, winds, hoarfrost, rain, mist, dew, clouds,[450] the waters[451]) and astronomical (the sun, the moon, the stars[452]) *omina*.[453] Macaskill points out that "the *Parables of Enoch* and *2 Enoch* are distinctive in their development of an extended scheme within which the imagery of the storehouse functions as the governing device within accounts of meteorology. While the imagery is widely found in the biblical material and in postbiblical texts, these texts are distinctive in developing it in an extended way, with the imagery of the storehouse and/or treasury governing the account."[454]

2.4.2 Secrets

The *Book of the Similitudes* utilizes the terminology of "secrets."[455] Scholars have noted that "'secrets' or 'hidden things' (*ḫebu̓āt*) are at the heart of the *Parables*' worldview, and their revelation is central to the book's message."[456] The most important elements for our study are the subjects of these secrets. In *1 Enoch* 41:3, the terminology of secrets is applied to meteorological events, including lightnings, thunder, winds, clouds, and dew.[457] *1 Enoch* 59:1–3, which has parallels to the content of *1 Enoch* 41,[458] adds the mysteries of the luminaries to the catalogue of meteorological secrets:

> 59:1 In those days, my eyes saw the secrets (ጳቡኣተ) of the lightnings and the luminaries and their laws; they flash for a blessing or for a curse, as the Lord of Spirits wills. 59:2 And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and (how) when it crashes in the heights of heaven, its sound is heard <in> the dwelling places of the earth, he showed me the sound of the thunder for peace and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits. 59:3 After that, all the secrets of the luminaries and the lightnings were shown to me, how they flash for blessing and for satisfaction.[459]

Another thematic cluster of "secrets" in the *Similitudes* is the mysteries of "righteousness." The "secrets of righteousness" are mentioned in *1 Enoch* 49:2,[460] 58:5,[461] and 71:3–4.[462] In *1 Enoch* 71:3–4 the "secrets of righteousness" are conflated with the secrets of "the ends of heaven and all the treasuries of the stars, and all the luminaries."[463] A clear connection exists between the two subjects. Walck suggests that "in *1 Enoch*, the cosmological and meteorological secrets function as summaries in such a way as to authenticate the message of the seer regarding judgment."[464] He argues that, in the *Similitude*s, "the revelation of the cosmological and meteorological secrets authenticates Enoch's revelation of the secrets regarding the judgment of the oppressors and the reversal of fortunes for the righteous."[465] These juxtapositions are noteworthy since the oppressors' judgment is conflated not with conventional legal precepts but with the "law of the stars."

It is possible that the application of the terminology of "secrets" to cosmological phenomena and to the "righteousness" revealed to Enoch serves in the *Similitudes* to mirror inversely the Watchers' illicit pedagogy, which includes both cosmological revelations and instructions that lead to the corruption of "righteousness." Some scholars have entertained the possibility. Thus, reflecting on "all the secrets of wisdom"[466] transmitted by the Chosen One, who will be identified with Enoch in the last chapters of the *Similitudes*, Michael Knibb proffers that "there is a contrast between these 'secrets of wisdom' that will be revealed by the Chosen One and 'the secrets of their wisdom' that, according to 69:8, were shown to men by Pēnēmue, one of the satans who, in an alternative version of the Watchers tradition, came down from heaven and brought sin into the world (69:4–12)."[467] Indeed, *1 Enoch* 69:8 has already applied the terminology of "secrets" to the wisdom of the Watchers revealed by Pēnēmue.[468] One can find another reference to the Watchers' secrets in *1 Enoch* 65:6: "a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord against the inhabitants of the earth, that their end is accomplished, for they have learned all the secrets of the angels and all the violence of the satans, and all their powers, the hidden secrets and all the powers of those who practice sorcery, and the powers of (brightly) color(ed garments), and the powers of those who cast molten (images) for all the earth."[469] The tendency to refer to the Watchers' revelations as "secrets" is not unique to the *Similitudes*; it exists in the earliest Enochic booklets.[470] In the *Book of the Watchers*, one finds regular usage of the vocabulary of secrets/mysteries (Gr. τὰ μυστήρια) in the description of the illicit revelations of the Watchers.[471] From *1 Enoch* 8:3, one learns that the Watchers had revealed "mysteries (τὰ μυστήρια) to their wives and to their children."[472] *1 Enoch* 9:6 tells that Asael "has revealed the eternal mysteries (τὰ μυστήρια/ጳቡኣተ) that are in heaven."[473] *1 Enoch* 10:7b speaks about "the mystery (ἐν τῷ μυστηρίῳ) that the Watchers told and taught their sons."[474] Finally, in *1 Enoch* 16:3, the fallen Watchers' secrets are labeled as worthless mysteries:[475] "You were in heaven, and no mystery (μυστήριον/ጳቡኣት) was revealed to you; but a stolen mystery (μυστήριον/ምሥጢረ) you learned; and this you made known to the women in your hardness of heart; and through this mystery (τῷ μυστηρίῳ/ምሥጢር) the women and men are multiplying evils on the earth."[476]

The *Book of the Similitudes*, however, maintains a clear distinction between Enoch's secrets and the Watchers' mysteries. Knibb notes that in the *Similitudes* "as in the *Book of the Watchers*, a contrast is intended between the worthless and incomplete revelation of heavenly secrets given by the Watchers and the revelation of the secrets that Enoch saw and was shown, the revelation that, according to 68:1, he handed over to Noah in the *Book of Parables*."[477] The important difference between the two revelations is not only their "completeness" but also their ethical nature. Knowledge of the heavenly "secrets," which include the "measurements" or "*halakhot*" of the cosmological marvels, must be accompanied by proper praxis. By transgressing the commandments of God from the "heavenly Torah,"[478] the fallen Watchers have turned the cosmological mysteries they reveal into worthless knowledge. Yet, in the hands of the "righteous scribe," Enoch, these secrets are predestined to perform a soteriological role.

Concluding this section of our study, we must suggest that the extensive use of "storehouses" and "secrets" to describe the knowledge Enoch receives in heaven reflects the authors of the *Book of the Similitudes* attempt to develop Enoch's epistemological profile further, expanding it in comparison with the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*. The "secrets" and "storehouses" language enhances Enoch's profile in relation to cosmological knowledge. It shows the greater depth of his knowledge – the adept now beholds not merely cosmological phenomena, but their "secrets" – as well as its breadth – he is now able to contemplate the totality of these cosmological realities gathered in very places of their origin, the heavenly storehouses. Appropriately, the terminology of "secrets" and "storehouses" will play a prominent role in *2 Enoch*, in which the exaltation of Enoch's epistemological status will reach new heights. The importance of the heavenly "storehouses" and "secrets" in fashioning and maintaining Enoch's exalted profile can be also discerned in later Jewish materials. Thus, in *3 Enoch* Enoch-Metatron's access to the storehouses of heavenly marvels will play a major role in the affirmation of his omniscience.

2.4.3 The Righteous Balance

Another important development of the *Book of the Similitudes* is speculation about the "righteous balance,"[479] which is understood as an entity related to the measurement of cosmological wonders and human deeds.[480] The singling out of these two familiar topics for rectification or "balancing" reflects precisely the two dimensions where the Watchers' rebellion has inflicted the most harm – the angels' illicit revelation of cosmological secrets and their sexual corruption of women.

In *1 Enoch* 43:1–2, the "righteous balance" is used for measuring "lightnings and stars of heaven":

> And I saw other lightnings and stars of heaven; and I saw that he called them by their names, and they listened to him. I saw a righteous balance (መዳልው፡ ጽድቅ፡), how they are weighed according to their light, according to the breadth of their spaces and the day of their appearing. (I saw how) their revolution produces lightning, and their revolution is according to the number of the angels, and they keep their faith with one another.[481]

In this passage the astronomical objects are weighed "according to their light, according to the breadth of their spaces and the day of their appearing." One can see that these measurements include not only spatial ("the breadth of their spaces") and temporal ("the day of their appearing") dimensions but also what appears to be the degree of the luminaries' "energy" ("according to their light").[482]

Some experts have noted the application in *1 Enoch* 43:1–2 of the "moral laws" to astronomical bodies, now understood as heavenly beings that possess mental and moral qualities. Matthew Black points out that "the stars and heavenly bodies are hypostatized, they are heavenly beings with consciousness and conscience, to be assessed or 'weighed in a balance,' like [hu]mankind and to be so judged according to the measure or mass or proportions of light they possess."[483] Stone also suggests that in *1 Enoch* 43,

> we find not only the calling of the stars by name and their harkening … but also the revelation of their light, their orbits, and the angelic guides who determine these latter, as well as the regularity of the balance and proportion between them … . Two new elements are introduced. One is that the regularity of the movements of the celestial bodies is called "how they keep faith with one another" which implies not only a personification of them, but also the ascribing of an ethical or moral quality to their regularity.[484]

The features of the astronomical bodies' behavior found in other passage from *1 Enoch* 41:8a also envision them as agents following moral regulations: "For the sun (makes) many revolutions for a blessing and a curse, and the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous and darkness to the sinners."[485]

If the moral laws extend to the heavenly bodies in the *Similitudes*, then the Enochic booklet's vision

of human deeds as weighed exactly the same way as the deeds of the luminaries is no coincidence.[486] These correspondences indicate that the measurements of cosmological and meteorological wonders have legal significance, serving as an archetypal blueprint for human *halakha*. Karlheinz Müller suggests that "die Halacha wird von Henoch rudimentär aus der Schöpfung abgelesen."[487]

The belief that the cosmological phenomena obey moral laws illuminates the value and function of the cosmological revelations to Enoch in the early Enochic booklets. If the heavenly bodies and meteorological events are guided by moral laws, then their proper measurements, which are obtained by the seer from God and the angels, provide archetypes of profound value for the rectification and balancing of the corrupted moral order of humankind. This reading explains why various Enochic materials, especially *2 Enoch*, present the patriarch's revelations about cosmological measurements as the crucial basis for the ethical teachings that he communicates to his sons and the people of the earth.

In *1 Enoch* 41:1, the seer beholds the routine of the balancing of human deeds: "And after this, I saw all the secrets of heaven, how the kingdom is divided, and how human deeds are weighed in the balance (በመዳልው፡ ይደለው፡)."[488] Scholars often connect this passage with Dan 5:26–28.[489] Nickelsburg suggests that "the present verse anticipates that when their deeds are weighed in God's balance (41:b), the kings and the mighty will be stripped of their kingdom(s), as was the case with Belshazzar according to Daniel 5."[490]

The weighing of deeds is emphasized in *1 Enoch* 61:8 where the seer beholds the eschatological judge, who will weigh not only actions of human beings but also the deeds of the angels: "And the Lord of Spirits seated the Chosen One upon the throne of glory; and he will judge all the works of the holy ones in the heights of heaven, and in the balance he will weigh their deeds."[491]

The expression "righteous balance" (መዳልው፡ ጽድቅ፡) that is found in the *Book of the Similitudes* also occurs in *2 Enoch*.[492] Reflecting on the importance of this enigmatic measuring devise, Grant Macaskill proposes that

> the image of the balance has a certain controlling function over the *Parables* as a whole: Enoch will see how the Lord of Spirits will weigh both the heavenly spirits – the stars and the lightning – and the human ones. This makes sense of the association between the bodies of light and the spirits of righteous humans, which have been divided from the darkness by the Lord of Spirits (41:8–9); it also makes sense of the transition from the description of the stars/lightning and their weight to the naming of the righteous who dwell on earth (43:4).[493]

Macaskill further suggests that "the imagery of the balance is interwoven, then, with a detailed schema within which the concept of the storehouse/treasury plays a key structuring role and within which the roles of angels in relation to the meteorological phenomena are a matter of interest."[494]

The terminology of the *righteous* balance in the Enochic tradition evokes Enoch's own designations as a righteous person and the scribe of righteousness.[495] It also reaffirms the paramount importance of "righteousness" and related concepts in the sapiential and apocalyptic traditions.[496]

The weighing of human deeds' similarity to the weighing of cosmological realities may reflect the view that a person's actions become embedded in the person's structure. Scholars previously reflected on this symbolism. Thus, Menahem Kister suggests that similar to the cosmological realities, which can be measured, numbered, or weighed, human beings can be measured according to "the different spiritual 'measures' with which people are endowed."[497] Reflecting on the meanings of the verb *tikken* ("to measure") and the noun *tikkun* ("measurement"), Kister proposes that "they are part of a wider notion, namely that God metes out to every human being a measured predestined portion,[498] sometimes also called a person's 'lot' (גורל), 'inheritance' (נחלה), 'place of standing' (בית מעמדו).[499]" If human beings, like stars, initially possess an endowed "portion," then they can be "weighed" and "measured" to see how their current state corresponds to the initial "lot."

The question, however, remains why the *Book of the Similitudes* chooses to introduce the imagery of the righteous balance, the symbolism of which will later play an important role also in *2 Enoch*. The answer for this question can be found in the *Similitudes*' increased emphasis on Enoch's revelations as tools for the mitigation of the "imbalanced" state of God's creation, which was due to the fallen Watchers' corrupting deeds and illicit pedagogy. Although scholars have noticed that the righteous

balance serves in the *Similitudes* as a tool of judgment, they have often missed its role as an instrument of rectification for the corrupted cosmological order.

In the context of the inverse symmetry between the secrets of the Watchers and the mysteries revealed to Enoch, it is possible that the "righteous balance" itself is envisioned as a special revelation of "embodied harmony." It would be given to one predestined to play an important role in correcting the fallen angels' corrupting actions. Accordingly, Enoch's access to this tool of rectification can be envisioned as a crucial step in the process of the mitigation of the Watchers' misdeeds.

2.4.4 The Divine Name

We have already learned in a previous chapter of our study that the *Similitudes* devotes a considerable amount of space to portraying the fallen angels as the recipients of illicit revelations related to the divine Name. It is quite possible that by their possession of the Tetragrammaton, with its known demiurgical powers, the angelic rebels were able to unlock and pervert God's creation. The sudden influx of onomatological traditions in the *Similitudes* further explains the imbalance of cosmological order, which became possible through the Watchers' illicit acquisition of the divine Name – the crucial tool for securing the stability of God's creation. In the inverse epistemological framework of the Enochic tradition, the positive hero of the story must, therefore, also learn the mysteries of the divine Name for opposed – stabilizing and redemptive – purposes.

Enoch's interaction with the mysteries of the divine Name in the *Similitudes* has additional complexity because, in this text, Enoch is associated with a heavenly counterpart, the Son of Man. This otherworldly character, also designated in the *Similitudes* as the Chosen One, the Righteous One, and the Messiah, is depicted as an exalted operator of the divine Name.[500] The patriarch eventually reunites with this character, who represents his heavenly *alter ego*, in the last chapter of the *Similitudes*.[501] In light of these associations, it is possible that the Son of Man's interaction with the divine Name functions as part of Enoch's own access to the mysteries of the Tetragrammaton.

Another dimension of the seer's interaction with the mysteries of the divine Name unfolds in the *Similitudes* when he receives revelations about the great Oath and its various functions in managing various aspects of creation. Thus, in *1 Enoch* 41:5 Enoch learns how the luminaries (the sun and the moon) "keep faith with one another according to the oath that they have sworn."[502] Even more extensive revelations pertaining to the great Oath/Name come in *1 Enoch* 69:13–25. The visionary learns how the Name regulates various aspects of created order. He discovers that the divine Name allows the sun, the moon, and the stars to complete their courses. In these portrayals, the Oath/Name is envisioned as the ultimate harmonizing tool, which allows the whole creation to function flawlessly. The additional aspect of the revelation given in *1 Enoch* 69 is the assumption that knowledge about this powerful regulatory instrument has somehow been compromised and put in the hands of the rebellious angels. This feature presents the fallen angels' corruption in a new light. Through their possession of the great Oath/Name, the fallen Watchers are able not only to distort the specific cosmological phenomena situated under their guardianship but also to receive access to the instrument that controls *all* other aspects of creation. Like other instances where the outcomes of the Watchers' misuse of the divine knowledge is addressed through the revelations given to the seventh antediluvian hero, here too, Enoch's reception of onomatological secrets has soteriological significance.

Furthermore, in the light of the identification of Enoch with the Son of Man, it is possible that, in the *Similitudes*, Enoch not only receives the knowledge about the divine Name, he himself acts as an operator of this powerful regulatory and harmonizing tool of creation.

In the *Similitudes*, Enoch's heavenly *alter ego* is closely associated with the divine Name. In this process, one can discern traces of a conceptual trajectory, which will later crystallize in the *Sefer Hekhalot*, which presents Enoch-Metatron as the embodied divine Name – the Lesser YHWH.[503] Yet, one can see the early roots of this identification in the *Book of the Similitudes* where Enoch's heavenly counterpart possesses stunning onomatological credentials. Consequentially, the Son of Man's associations with the divine Name warrants further analysis.

In *1 Enoch* 48, the Son of Man is portrayed as a preexistent being that has received a special "name" from the Lord of Spirits in the primal "hour," before the beginning of creation. *1 Enoch* 48:2–3

reads,

> And in that hour that son of man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and his name, before the Head of Days. Even before the sun and the constellations were created, before the stars of heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of Spirits.[504]

In relation to this passage, Charles Gieschen proposed that the "name" by which the Son of Man "was named" appears to be the divine Name of the Lord of Spirits since there are many references to "the name of the Lord of the Spirits" throughout the *Book of the Similitudes*.[505] Gieschen also draws attention to the verses that follow the aforementioned passage where one can find the following statement: "All who dwell on the earth will fall down and worship before him, and they will glorify and bless and sing hymns to the name of the Lord of Spirits" (*1 Enoch* 48:5).[506] Scrutinizing this obscure language of worship, Gieschen suggests that the crowds "will use the name of the Lord of Spirits in worshiping the Son of Man because both possess the same divine Name."[507]

In their development of the Son of Man's mediatorial profile, the authors of the *Similitudes* rely heavily on the formative imagery found in Daniel 7, wherein the Ancient of Days appears alongside the Son of Man. Scholars have noticed that the association between these two figures has new significance in the onomatological framework of the *Book of the Similitudes*, solidifying the Son of Man's ownership of the divine Name.[508] In light of these developments, Gieschen proposes that references to the "name" of the Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 37–71 indicate that he shares the divine Name of the Ancient of Days, the Tetragrammaton.[509]

Another important motif is the connection between the Son of Man's name and the demiurgic Oath that initiates and sustains creation. *1 Enoch* 48:3 contains the following statement: "Even before the sun and the constellations were created, before the stars of heaven were made, his [the Son of Man's] name was named before the Lord of Spirits." It appears that the preexistent "Name" of the Son of Man is endowed here with demiurgic functions, being connected with the demiurgic Oath that plays a prominent role in the *Book of the Similitudes*. This connection occurs again in *1 Enoch* 69, a chapter which speaks at length about the great oath/name that fashions and sustains the entire creation. It is noteworthy that later in the narrative, in *1 Enoch* 69:26, this demiurgic "oath" appears to be connected with the Son of Man's name: "And they had great joy, and they blessed and glorified and exalted, because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed to them."[510] Reflecting on the correlations which involve the oath that sustains the created order and the Son of Man's name, Gieschen notes that "the significance of the revealing of the name of the Son of Man becomes readily apparent when one sees the relationship between the divine Name, the oath used in creation, and the name of the Son of Man in *1 Enoch* 69."[511]

The Son of Man's association with the divine Name, which is envisioned in the *Book of the Similitudes* as the instrument that secures the harmony of all aspects of creation, establishes him and his earthly counterpart, Enoch, as the agents responsible for maintaining the concord of creation. Appropriately, the Son of Man is depicted as the operator of the "righteous balance." In *1 Enoch* 61:8 the Son of Man/Chosen One weighs human deeds: "And the Lord of Spirits seated the Chosen One upon the throne of glory; and he will judge all the works of the holy ones in the heights of heaven, and in the balance he will weigh their deeds."[512]

2.4.5 A Scribal Mirror

The inverse mirroring of Enoch's and the Watchers' revelatory endeavors reaches an important conceptual apex in the actions of the *Similitudes*' most enigmatic angelic revealer – Pēnēmue. Like Kasbeʾel, who serves in the S*imilitudes* as Enoch's onomatological mirror, Pēnēmue is posited as his scribal counterpart. As we remember, *1 Enoch* 69:9 tells that Pēnēmue gave humans knowledge about writing with ink and papyrus, which led them astray.[513] This statement has often puzzled readers of the *Similitudes* since the scribal duties of the seventh antediluvian patriarch occupy an undisputedly positive place in various early pseudepigraphical accounts.[514] According to *Jub.* 4:14, Enoch "was the first of humankind who were born on the earth who learned (the art of) writing."[515] Stone reminds

that "in *1 Enoch* 13:1, 14:1–7, Enoch even writes a petition for the Watchers. 40:8–9 says that he wrote down the names of the archangels. In 83:2, Enoch in his youth 'was learning to write' when he received a vision. None of these passages intimates negative evaluation of writing as such."[516] Yet, the persistent mirroring of the revelatory experiences of Enoch and the Watchers implies that Enoch's scribal craft would have a negative counterpart in the pedagogical efforts of the fallen angels. As many other strategies for the transmission of celestial knowledge, the art of writing can be used both to corrupt and restore creation and humankind.[517]

Pēnēmue's story demonstrates that the inverse parallelism between the epistemological efforts of the Watchers and Enoch encompass not only the *subjects* of the revealed mysteries but also the *modes* of their transmission. There are not only illicit mysteries but also illicit manners of their transmission, including scribal praxis. Through the reversal of these harmful modes, which also includes writing, Enoch is able to rectify the harmful effects of the illicit practices by offering their legitimate counterpart. Furthermore, in the context of "unrighteous" scribal endeavors of Pēnēmue, Enoch's scribal title, the "scribe of righteousness," receives new significance.

2.5 Conclusion: Similarities and Differences in Acquisition, Cultivation, and Transmission of the Divine Mysteries

To conclude our investigation of Enoch's reception of the divine mysteries in the booklets of *1 Enoch*, we should compare the patterns of his acquisition, cultivation, and transmission of divine knowledge with the patterns of the Watchers' illicit pedagogies. It has been previously noted that the subjects of the secrets revealed by the Watchers are "mirrored" in the mysteries unveiled to Enoch. Yet even though the subjects are indeed similar, the status of the transmitters and recipients of the secrets, the modes of transmission and acquisition of the secrets, and the validation for the transmission and acquisition of heavenly knowledge are strikingly different.

1. The authoritative origin of revealed knowledge plays an equally important role in both Enoch's and the Watchers' epistemological endeavors. While the fallen Watchers lack God's approval in their descent and illicit pedagogical efforts,[518] Enoch is specifically commissioned by God to acquire heavenly knowledge and dispense it to humankind.

2. The lawful or illegitimate status of the divine knowledge is affirmed by the inverse patterns of angelic instruction to human recipient(s). Uriel lawfully instructs Enoch, but the fallen angels illegitimately instruct their wives and other humans.

3. The handling of the divine knowledge by the antagonists and protagonist of the Enochic tradition results in ontological metamorphosis. While the Watchers lose their heavenly state and status due to the abandonment of their "epistemological regions" and their transmission of heavenly secrets to humans,[519] Enoch, during his procurement of the divine knowledge, is endowed with a new celestial identity and an otherworldly nature.

4. The superiority of Enoch's expertise in the divine mysteries is underlined by his omniscience. While in the Watchers' cohort each member of the group controls only one facet of cosmological knowledge (e.g., astronomical, meteorological, or geographical), Enoch's proficiency encompasses all aspects.[520]

5. The association of the Watchers' names with cosmological marvels may point to the process of angelic reification of cosmological knowledge. Correspondingly, in some early Enochic documents the cosmological wonders are accompanied by angelic guardians, who may fulfill not only supervising but also epistemological functions, being envisioned as reified knowledge of these phenomena.

6. If the Watchers' names reflect their expertise in various areas of divine knowledge, then their social hierarchy, which is clearly discernable inside their angelic group(s), may reflect a hierarchy of heavenly knowledge where onomatological (Shemihazah) or demiurgical (Asael) proficiency occupy primary positions. A similar system of the hierarchization of divine knowledge can be discerned in the protagonist's acquisition of divine mysteries. His interaction with various cosmological subjects entails several initiatory steps, which often correspond to the hierarchy of the heavens/otherworldly regions where he receives knowledge corresponding to particular *topoi*.

7. In early Enochic accounts one can discern, in addition to the aforementioned hierarchy of the

divine mysteries' subjects, a hierarchy of modes of the divine knowledge's transmission, in which the scribal mode appears to occupy the primary position. The fallen Watchers, at least one of which in the past had access to this mode (Pēnēmue), after their fall have apparently lost this privilege. The loss would explain why, instead of writing a petition themselves, they ask Enoch to write a memorandum for them. The priority of the scribal mode of divine knowledge's transmission is also underlined by the multiplicity of Enoch's scribal honorifics, including such titles as the scribe of righteousness, the scribe of distinction, and the most skilled scribe.[521]

8. Although the usage of the same modes of knowledge's transmission (for example, through the scribal craft, through angelic instructions, etc.) is affirmed in both the Watchers' illicit pedagogies and Enoch's acquisition and transmission of the divine mysteries, the modes can be seen either as legitimate or illegitimate depending on the status of their revealer.

9. The ways of acquisition and dispersal of divine knowledge closely correspond to specific vectors of topological progression through the structured space. When Enoch acquires divine mysteries, he does so either during his ascent or in a horizontal journey through hierarchized otherworldly regions. The dispersal of the divine mysteries is tied to downward movement for both Enoch and the Watchers. However, Enoch executes his dispersal of knowledge to humankind on a short missionary trip to the earth while the Watchers' illicit pedagogy unfolds on the earth as their permanent domicile.

10. Several early Enochic booklets present complex systems of celestial guardians of cosmological phenomena and the knowledge associated with these wonders. These conceptual developments form the background of Enoch's own interaction with cosmological marvels and their mysteries. In some cases, his interactions, during which the seer measures and records the relevant phenomena, may suggest that he assumes the role of a new custodian of these cosmological marvels and their secrets.

11. Some Enochic traditions, especially ones found in the *Book of the Similitudes*, suggest that the divine secrets have become associated with certain cosmological locations where they are stored in "treasuries" guarded by celestial custodians. In light of this juxtaposition of topological and epistemological aspects, the Watchers' abandonment of their assigned cosmological locations, which are associated with certain secrets, and Enoch's journey to these sites can be seen as either abandoning or assuming guardianship of these "epistemological regions."

12. The mysteries acquired and transmitted by the protagonist and dispersed by the Watchers during their illicit pedagogical efforts constitute a type of knowledge that can be expressed by the Greek term τέχνη.[522] The "practical" aspect of the Watchers' mysteries manifests in *1 Enoch* 8:1, wherein Asael transmits to humans not merely abstract data but instead *technai* in the form of demiurgical technologies, which enable the human race to transform natural elements of creation into unnatural and destructive objects. Notably, the Watchers do not teach abstractly about swords or about iron, instead, they show how to "make" one from the other. The gist of the instruction is the transmutation of one entity into another; more specifically, it shows how to turn formerly natural and harmonious elements of creation into tools of destruction, deception, and dominance. The similar emphasis on "knowhow" is demonstrated in the description of the production of jewelry where Asael again "showed them metals of the earth and how they should work gold to fashion it suitably, and concerning silver, to fashion it for bracelets and ornaments for women." Such novel technological activities shift each element's intended *telos*, undermining the inherent balance and harmony of creation.

Enoch's procurement and dispersal of divine knowledge also has a practical dimension. He does not merely read or study about astronomical, meteorological, and geographical marvels for his own amusement, but he practically interacts with these realities by measuring, recording, calculating, and balancing them.[523] By doing so he "restores" the corrupted phenomena, each to its original *telos*.

13. The aforementioned "practical" dimension of the divine mysteries is also manifested in their nomological or antinomian nature. For both the Watchers and Enoch, true or corrupted cosmological knowledge has paramount legal and ethical significance, being understood as archetypal *halakha* (or anti-*halakha* in the case of the Watchers) and a blueprint for human moral or immoral behavior. It is not coincidental that cosmological revelations and moral (or immoral) instruction/actions occur in tandem in both Enoch and the Watchers' pedagogical efforts.

14. Cosmological measurements play an equally important role in the Watchers' and Enoch's acquisition and dispersal of divine mysteries. The corruption of these measurements and their

restoration become pivotal subjects in the stories of the protagonist and antagonists of the Enochic tradition. The fallen angels' violation of the proper cosmological measurements, trajectories, and times (the crucial aspects of the so-called "law of the stars,") are epitomized in the physical and social disharmony of their own offspring – the Giants. Enoch, on other hand, exemplifies the harmony of the cosmological measurements through both his seventh position in the history of humankind and his lifespan of 365 years.[524] These numbers signal that the proper cosmological cycles, reflected in these pivotal calendrical numerals,[525] are "imbedded" in Enoch's biography and nature.

15. One can detect inverse correspondences in the accounts which describe the religious experience of the protagonists and antagonists of the early Enochic accounts and their emotional reactions to their experiences. Examples of such inverse parallelism include accounts of Enoch and the Watchers' fear. One such account in *1 Enoch* 15 portrays Enoch's entrance into the heavenly Temple, the sacred abode of the deity, a very special *topos* that terrifies not only human beings but also celestial creatures. Significantly, Enoch is not simply frightened by his otherworldly experience; he is literally "covered with fear." Scholars have noticed the unusual strength of these formulae of fear. For example, John Collins notes the text's "careful observation of Enoch's terrified reaction."[526] Another scholar, Martha Himmelfarb, notices the power of the visionary's reaction to the divine presence, which, in her opinion, supersedes some formative biblical visionary accounts, including Ezekiel's visions. She notes that "Ezekiel's prostrations are never attributed to fear; they are reported each time in the same words, without any mention of emotion, as almost ritual acknowledgments of the majesty of God. The *Book of the Watchers*, on the other hand, emphasizes the intensity of the visionary's reaction to the manifestation of the divine."[527] In the *Book of the Similitudes*, one can find another tendency, namely, a juxtaposition of the seer's fearful reaction with the transformation of his physical body. Thus, in *1 Enoch* 60, a description of Enoch's fear coincides with a reference to the "melting" of his body. The motif reoccurs more dramatically in *2 Enoch* where references to Enoch's fear appear in several accounts of the patriarch's transformations.[528]

1 Enoch 13:3 provides another description of feelings of fear, but it attributes them to the fallen Watchers. In this passage, Enoch reports that, when he went and spoke to the Watchers about writing a petition for them to the deity, "they were all afraid and trembling and fear seized them."[529] The fallen angels' reaction recalls the first biblical account of human fear conveyed in Genesis 3 where Adam and Eve hide themselves due to fear of the deity's presence after their transgression in the Garden.[530] Analyzing this Adamic account, some scholars have suggested that the fear of the first humans might serve as a sign of their fallen condition. It has also been suggested that this same pattern, in which theophanic fear relates to transgression and the loss of good standing before God, is likewise observable in Mosaic biblical accounts that underline the Israelite fear of the divine face after the idolatrous Golden Calf incident. Regarding these biblical accounts, Ian Wilson notes "it is possible that the Israelite fear of the divine face – and divine presence in general – stemmed from the biblical account of humanity's fall in the Garden of Eden (Gen 3). Prior to the fall there is no evidence that the man and woman fear Yahweh's presence in any way, but after the fall Yahweh's approach prompts great fear in them (cf. Gen 3:8)."[531]

Biblical traditions provide an important key for understanding the various reactions of fear toward the divine Presence in the early Enochic accounts. In the case of Enoch, it is the fear of drawing near to the divine Presence and the anticipation of his upcoming transformation, which will eventually alter him ontologically. In the case of the fallen Watchers, the fear occurs in anticipation of God's judgment for their transgressions and their loss of good standing before the deity.

The developments demonstrate that the portrayals of the characters' religious experiences provide an important key for identifying their ontological and epistemological status.

16. Early Enochic accounts also convey the inverse patterns of spiritual perception expressed through ocular symbolism. Our study has demonstrated that visual apprehension plays a pivotal role in Enoch's acquisition of heavenly knowledge since the main bulk of his otherworldly knowledge comes through his observation of divine secrets with his own eyes. In contrast, the spiritual perception of the Watchers weakens after their fall as they are no longer able "to lift their eyes to heaven." Such impairment receives its most articulated expression in the episode of Asael's imprisonment in *1 Enoch* 10 where the watcher's face is covered with darkness, preventing him from "seeing light." The covering of the Watchers' leader's eyes, which are understood as pivotal organs

for the reception of spiritual knowledge in the Enochic epistemology, represents a striking contrast to Enoch's spiritual sensitivity.

17. If the fallen Watchers are indeed understood as the embodiments of corrupted divine knowledge,[532] then their illicit sexual actions with human women can be seen as an epistemological endeavor. It becomes one of the crucial avenues of their transmission of the reified "worthless mysteries," which receive new embodied form in the Giants, symbolically incarnating disharmony and aberration.[533]

18. The contrast between the illicit and legitimate transmissions of knowledge is communicated by the gender differences of the revelations' recipients. While the Watchers deliver some of their forbidden knowledge to women,[534] God and his envoy, Uriel, reveal legitimate secrets only to a male recipient – Enoch.[535] This inverse gender pattern is reaffirmed in Enoch's transmission of divine knowledge: he directs his knowledge only to *male* recipients – Methuselah and "his sons."

19. In both cases, the divine knowledge is transmitted in part through familial social networks. While in Enoch's case it is dispersed exclusively to male family members,[536] the Watchers' illicit secrets are transmitted, among others, to female family members (the Watchers' wives), which reflects the gender dimension previously discerned.

20. The moral outcomes of the respective pedagogies also differ. Although the Watchers, like Enoch, teach their sons after their birth (according to *1 Enoch* 10:7 – they taught their sons "mystery"), their instructions result in violence and murder. In contrast, Enoch's instructions advance moral harmony in the recipients of his revelations.

Chapter Three The Mysteries of Enoch in *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch*

3.1 The Mysteries of Enoch in *2 Enoch*

Enoch's initiation into the divine secrets in *2 Enoch* involves several important steps, which demonstrate a gradual evolution of the patriarch's expertise in these matters. The initial chapters of the pseudepigraphon depict our hero traveling through various heavens, each possessing peculiar ouranological content. During this journey, the seer patiently receives from angels knowledge about the various astronomical, meteorological, calendrical, and geographical marvels situated in their respective heavens. He also learns about the angelic guardians of these entities. This part of *2 Enoch* attests to the familiar epistemological profile of the seventh antediluvian hero, already known to us from other early Enochic booklets. At the apex of his heavenly trip, Enoch is transformed into a celestial being. *2 Enoch* 22:10 describes this metamorphosis in detail, postulating at the end that Enoch had "become like one of the glorious ones, and there was no observable difference."[537]

The luminous metamorphosis inaugurates the next phase of Enoch's initiation into the divine mysteries. At this stage, the angel Vereveil takes on the role of instructor for the seer.[538] On God's command, Vereveil brings heavenly books and with them instructs Enoch in "all the things of heaven and earth and sea and all the elements and the movements and their courses, and the living thunder, the sun and the moon and the stars, their courses and their changes, and seasons and years and days and hours, and the coming of the clouds and the blowing of the winds, and the number of the angels."[539] Vereveil's instruction lasts 30 days and 30 nights, initiating Enoch into the office of heavenly scribe. Vereveil commands the seer to sit down, gives him a pen, and orders him to write down everything he is taught. As a result of his scribal activity, Enoch produces more than 300 books.

After this, Enoch's initiation reaches its final and most important stage when God places the patriarch on his left – according to the shorter recension, "closer than Gabriel"[540] – in order to reveal to him the secrets of creation that have never been revealed to anyone else. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 24:3, God assures the initiate that "for not even to my angels have I explained my secrets, nor related to them their origin, nor my endlessness (and inconceivableness), as I devise the creatures, as I am making them known to you today."[541]

One can see that Enoch's initiation into the divine secrets requires at least three stages. In the first stage, during his celestial journey, he beholds with his own eyes various ouranological marvels and receives detailed explanations about them from his angelic guides. He also counts, measures, and records various cosmological secrets. In the second stage of his initiation, which occurs in the highest heaven, he listens to the angel Vereveil's instructions and learns divine knowledge from heavenly books. Finally, in the third stage he hears God's revelations about the secrets of creation directly, which the deity has not before revealed even to his angels. One can see that the acquisition of the divine mysteries is executed through different means, activities, and media as Enoch beholds, listens, counts, measures, reads, and documents the divine secrets.

The full scope of the elaborate and unprecedented disclosure of divine secrets is revealed fully only later, during Enoch's instructions to his children, which he delivers upon his short visit to the earth. During these lessons, Enoch describes himself not simply as a beholder of the divine secrets or an expert in them but also as a measurer of God's creation and calendar, a figure who, through his calculations and measurements, is able "to govern" the world. Enoch's mighty deeds towards God's creation are absent in the early chapters of the text when the seer routinely interacts with various cosmological entities. Conceivably, the adept acquires the necessary expertise only after God reveals to him the mysteries previously unknown to his angelic servants, suggesting that only through this final divine instruction has Enoch attained supra-angelic status and the role that allows him to control cosmological phenomena and their angelic guardians.

In our analysis of Enoch's expertise in the secrets of creation, we will follow the aforementioned steps of Enoch's initiation into the divine mysteries, exploring first his initiations in the early chapters

of *2 Enoch* before proceeding to more advanced developments.

3.2 Enoch's Acquisition of Secrets During His Heavenly Journey

During Enoch's progression through multiple heavens, each heaven reveals its own cosmological content. While the moon and the sun abide in the upper heavens, some meteorological and geographical realities remain confined to the lower ones. One may discern in their arrangement a certain hierarchy, not only of the elements of creation but of the secrets associated with the cosmological *omina*.

3.2.1 First Heaven

The adept's progress through the heavens begins in chapter 3 when Enoch is transported by his angelic guides to the first heaven. During his ascent, he is first placed on moving clouds.[542] Ascending higher and higher, Enoch feels the air being replaced by the "ether" (аеръ).[543] Entering the first heaven, he sees "a vast ocean, much bigger that the earthly ocean."[544] Then, "the elders (старѣишины), the rulers of the stellar orders" parade before his face.[545] After that, Enoch encounters "200 angels who govern the stars and the heavenly combinations."[546] Enoch notices that these angels "fly with their wings, and do the rounds of all the planets."[547] Francis Andersen suggests that "*2 Enoch*'s elders are distinct from the two hundred angels who govern the stars. There seems to be a chain of command; so the elders could be senior angels."[548] In *2 Enoch* the cosmological elements are closely connected with their corresponding angelic guardians. Thus, the heavenly realm is presented as a highly structured social space with a complex angelic hierarchy. Such Slavonic terms as чины (ranks), старейшины (elders), and владыки (elders) emphasize the intricate chain of command.

The treasuries of snow, ice, clouds, and dew are all guarded by angels when Enoch sees them. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 5–6 reads, "And there I perceived the treasuries of the snow and the ice, and the angels who guard their terrible storehouses, and the treasury of the clouds, from which they come out and go in. And they showed me the treasuries of the dew, like olive oil."[549] The seer becomes privy to the angelic regulations of the meteorological entities. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 6:1, he sees "the angels who guard their treasuries, and how they are shut and opened."[550] Badalanova Geller stresses the importance of the book's angelology, remarking that

> the most important question in this context appears to be not *what*, but rather *whom* does Enoch see on the first heaven? The picture gets much more clear and straightforward, as heavenly topography appears to be bound with (and spelled out as) heavenly agency, since on the very first heaven Enoch encounters: (i) "the elders and the rulers of the stellar orders"; (ii) the 200 angels "who rule over the stars and constellations"; (iii) the angels who are in charge of the treasuries of snow and ice; (iv) the angels who guard the treasuries of dew.[551]

3.2.2 Second Heaven

In the second heaven, Enoch learns about the mysteries of judgment when he encounters a group of angelic "prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment."[552] The story defines them as the apostates who ignored God's commandments.[553] In our analysis of Enoch's acquisition of the cosmological mysteries in the *Book of the Watchers*, we have already encountered a similar episode where the patriarch beholds otherworldly prisoners hold in their cosmological prisons. However, when *2 Enoch's* prisoners beg Enoch to pray for them before God, Enoch replies to them with hesitance: "Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows where I am going and what will confront me? Or who indeed will pray for me?"[554] This reply is important for understanding the evolution of Enoch's status and expertise in *2 Enoch*. It is not coincidental that his hesitant response to the fallen angels can be found at the very beginning of his heavenly trip. At this point, Enoch is at the very beginning of his initiation and obviously lower than the angels. Yet, at the climax

of his heavenly journey, Enoch will be clearly above the angels, and, in his instructions to his children found in the final chapters of *2 Enoch*, he will boast about his supra-angelic status.

The location of the condemned angels in the second heaven also deserves special attention. At first glance, the placement of the rogue agents between the lower heavens filled with meteorological and cosmological phenomena and their guardians, who judiciously follow God's command, is puzzling. However, as we have already witnessed in the *Book of the Watchers*, the positioning has its own significance in the framework of the cosmological law upheld by the early Enochic authors. In the nomological framework of the Enochic tradition, the rebellious angels' position amid stable cosmological realities, which faithfully follow God's rules, entails both a penitentiary and harmonizing outcome, surrounding former agents of chaos with cosmological order.

3.2.3 Third Heaven

In the third heaven, Enoch beholds Paradise, its ripe fruits, and pleasant-smelling trees. Among the trees, he sees the Tree of Life, which is described as "the place where the Lord takes a rest when he goes into Paradise."[555] In Paradise, Enoch also beholds nourishing streams. According to the longer recension, one of the streams produces honey and milk and another oil and wine. As with other ouranological realities, special angels also supervise Paradise. The longer recension specifies their number, identifying 300 angels "who look after Paradise."[556] After beholding the heavenly garden, Enoch is taken by angels to the "northern region" (the "northern heaven" in the shorter recension) to a very frightful place, wherein he beholds a "river of fire" and "freezing ice." Angels inform him that this place is prepared for sinners, especially idolaters.

3.2.4 Fourth Heaven

In the beginning of chapter 11, the seer's guides transport him to the fourth heaven – the abode of the luminaries. There, the seer learns "all the movements and sequences (шествїа и прѣхожденїа), and all the rays of solar and lunar light."[557] Enoch meticulously measures the luminaries' movements and compares their light:

> And I measured their movements, and I compared their light. And I saw that the sun has a light seven times greater than the moon.[558] And I saw his circle and his wheels on which he always goes, going past always like the wind with quite marvelous speed. And his coming and his return give him no rest, day and night.[559]

The comparison of the heavenly bodies' "light" evokes the traditions found in the *Book of the Similitudes* (*1 Enoch* 43:1–2), wherein "the lightnings and stars of heaven … are weighed according to their light," using the "righteous balance."

In the longer recension, Enoch beholds the intricate, angelic construction of the sun's chariot, comprised of "4 great stars, each star having 1000 stars under it,[560] on the right-hand side of the sun's chariot,[561] and 4 on the left-hand side, each one having 1000 stars under it, all together 8000, going with the sun perpetually. And 150,000 angels accompany him in the daytime, and at night 1000. And 100 angels go in front of the sun's chariot, six-winged, in flaming fire."[562]

Chapter 12 supplies further details about the sun's angelic cortege, which includes "flying spirits, the solar elements, called phoenixes and khalkedras."[563] In *2 Enoch* these creatures appear to be understood as angels since "their wings were those of angels."[564]

Chapter 13 offers descriptions of the solar gates "through which the sun comes out according to the appointment of the seasons."[565] The patriarch carefully measures these gates and determines their size.[566] Importantly, the description includes a statement that "the sun comes out *according to the appointment of the seasons* (по уставу врѣменным)."[567] Although Andersen translates the Slavonic expression "по уставу врѣменным" as "according to the appointment of the seasons," a more precise translation, in light of manuscript variants,[568] can be "according to the law/rule of time" or "according to the chronological rule/law."[569] This terminology, significantly, evokes the symbolism of

the cosmological law or the "law of the stars," the nomological entity which plays such a paramount role in the early Enochic booklets of *1 Enoch*. Andersen points out that this Slavonic terminology contains the idea of divine ordering.[570] The relation of this terminology to the "law of the stars" becomes even more transparent later in *2 Enoch* 40:8 when Enoch tells his children that he explored "the dwelling places of the clouds and *their laws*[571] (уставы ихъ)."[572] The same term is used in Enoch's ethical exhortations to his children in both recensions of *2 Enoch* 52:10. In 52:10, the word has unambiguous legal meaning: "Cursed is he who destroys *the rules* (уставы) and restrictions of his fathers."[573]

In chapter 14, Enoch is carried by his angelic guides to "the west of the heaven" where he sees six large open gates. VanderKam, following Rau,[574] suggests that "*2 Enoch* divides the treatment of the gates into two sections: first the eastern gates (chap. 13), then the western gates (chap. 14). In *1 Enoch* 72[575] they are presented in a single unit."[576] Scholars often discern in *2 Enoch*'s astronomical speculations parallels with the *Astronomical Book*. VanderKam suggests that "*2 Enoch* 11–16 may be based on a Greek translation of the *Astronomical Book*."[577]

In chapter 14, Enoch also receives information about 4 (in the longer recension – 400) angels that guard the shining crown of the sun when it "goes out from the western gates"/"goes down under the earth." In the longer recension of chapter 15, Enoch beholds "the solar elements" – phoenixes and khalkedras – singing a hymn to the "giver of light." This tradition is absent in the shorter recension.

Chapter 16 is devoted to a revelation of the calendar. Christfried Böttrich argues that these calendrical disclosures attest to the 364-day calendar.[578] An interesting feature of these calendrical revelations is that the angels appear to be "showing" (Slav. показаша) the calendar to the seer,[579] which implies the calendar may be envisioned as an entity that objectively exists in heavens.[580]

In chapter 17, Enoch sees armed troops worshiping the deity "with tympani and pipes and unceasing voices."[581]

3.2.5 Fifth Heaven

In chapter 18, Enoch's guides take him to the fifth heaven where he encounters an angelic group identified by his celestial guides as the *Grigori* (Slav. *Григори*; Gr. Ἐγρήγοροι) – the Watchers.[582] During the identification, a reference is also made to the incarcerated angelic group in the second heaven, which places that previous group in the category of the Watchers as well: "These are the Grigori (Watchers), who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And *similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness*."[583] The connection between the two groups is also made clear in *2 Enoch* 18:7 when Enoch tells the Watchers from the fifth heaven that he saw "their brothers" and "prayed for them."[584]

Our text portrays the Watchers as being silent with "their faces being dejected."[585] Both recensions use "200" in their descriptions. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 18:3–5 speaks about 200 "princes": "These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train, and they descended to the earth, and they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Hermon, to defile themselves with human wives."[586] The longer recension reports 200 "myriads."[587] The numeral parallels the number of fallen Watchers attested in *1 Enoch* 6:5.

Enoch's interpreting angels provide additional details about the Watchers' fall, which is retold in *2 Enoch* with novel details of the Adamic etiology of evil.

3.2.6 Sixth Heaven

In chapter 19, Enoch is transported to the sixth heaven where he sees seven angels (in the longer recension seven groups of angels) in charge of the astronomical, meteorological, and geographical phenomena.[588] The descriptions again attest to the presence of angelic guardians of the cosmological marvels, postulated already in the beginning of Enoch's journey when he encountered the angelic stewards of the snow, the ice, the clouds, and the dew.

3.2.7 Seventh Heaven

In chapter 20, Enoch enters the seventh heaven, the domain of "the fiery armies of the incorporeal ones."[589] In chapter 21, he beholds the heavenly armies, which are located before the deity's face. On God's order, the archangel Gabriel carries the seer to the deity's presence.[590] In chapter 22, Enoch became transformed into "one of the glorious ones."

For our study of the law of the stars and its affirmation of strict topological assignments for heavenly agents, it is important that Enoch's initiation includes the assignment of a special position in heaven, which will last "forever." We should now direct our attention to this appointment.

Enoch's transformation into a celestial citizen results in his being commanded to stand before the deity's face from now and forever. This order establishes permanent topological ("before God's face") and temporal ("from now and forever") features of Enoch's role in heaven, the parameters of which evoke the "law of the stars." These assignments are repeated several times in *2 Enoch*, coming either from the mouth of the archangel Gabriel or the deity himself.[591] Scholars rightly see in these traditions allusions to the future prominent role of Enoch-Metatron as the Prince of the Presence, *sar happanim*.[592]

The locations and duties of the unfallen Watchers in *2* and *3 Enoch* may show that Enoch's appointment as an angelic servant standing before God's Face forever casts him as an eschatological counterpart of the rogue Watchers. *2 Enoch* may understand the Watchers' former place, like Enoch's, as before the face of the deity since the patriarch asks the Watchers in the fifth heaven to start their liturgies before the "face of God." The spatial arrangement of the *irin*, or "Watchers," in *3 Enoch* comes even closer to Enoch's exalted location. In *Sefer Hekhalot*, their abode is situated "opposite the throne of glory, and their station is facing the Holy One."[593] I am not suggesting that Enoch becomes a Watcher – his status and duties in *2* and *3 Enoch* clearly supersede their agency. Yet, the assignment of topological and temporal parameters to his position in heaven may have restorative significance, reflecting the similar assignments for the stars and their guardians in other traditions.

3.3 Enoch's Initiation by Vereveil

After Enoch's metamorphosis in the seventh heaven, his initiation enters its next stage when God summons one of his archangels, named Vereveil, who is described as being "swifter in wisdom than the other archangels."[594] The deity orders him to bring the books from his storehouses, give Enoch a pen, and read to him from the heavenly books. Vereveil follows God's command, giving the patriarch the heavenly books, a knife, and ink. Both recensions also tell that he provided Enoch a pen for speedwriting *from his hand* (из руки своея).[595] The last action, where Vereveil gives his human apprentice a writing instrument from his own hand, may indicate the transference of scribal and – possibly – other duties from this wisest angel to Enoch. In some of the early Enochic booklets, Uriel is portrayed as a heavenly scribe and a teacher of Enoch. It is noteworthy that, while Uriel in *1 Enoch* 33 continues to perform his scribal duties alongside Enoch, writing down for Enoch "everything,"[596] in *2 Enoch* Vereveil does not perform any scribal duties once he surrenders his own pen to a new celestial scribe.

The exchange of roles shows a notable development from early Enochic documents, wherein Uriel never transfers a pen from his hand to Enoch. If Vereveil transfers some of his duties to Enoch in *2 Enoch*, the endowments can reflect Enoch's preparation for his role as the "governor of the earth," the office occupied by Uriel in some early Enochic materials. For example, the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 20:2) identifies Uriel as "one of the holy angels, *who is in charge of the world* (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου) and Tartarus."[597] In the *Astronomical Book* (*1 Enoch* 72:1, 71:4, 75:3, and 79:6), Uriel is described as the leader of heavenly luminaries. In *1 Enoch* 82:8, Uriel is said to have "power in heaven over night and day to make light appear over humanity: the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the heavenly powers which revolve in their circuits."[598]

The most important aspect of Vereveil's teaching, for the purposes of our study, pertains to the subjects of divine mysteries that he transmits to his apprentice. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 23:1–2 offers the following list of the "revealed things" that the angel passes to his human apprentice:

> And he was telling me all the things of heaven and earth and sea and all the elements and the

> movements and their courses, and the living thunder, the sun and the moon and the stars, their courses and their changes, and seasons and years and days and hours, and the coming of the clouds and the blowing of the winds, and the number of the angels and the songs of the armed troops; and every kind of human thing, and every kind of language (and) singing, and human life and rules and instructions and sweet-voiced singing, and everything that it is appropriate to learn.[599]

Vereveil's instructions encompass a familiar range of cosmological subjects, including the following types of knowledge:

1. astronomical lore ("the sun and the moon and the stars");
2. meteorological lore ("the living thunder … the coming of the clouds and the blowing of the winds");
3. calendrical lore ("the sun and the moon and the stars, their courses and their changes, and seasons and years and days and hours");
4. geographical lore ("all the things of … earth and sea").

Vereveil's teaching also includes knowledge about liturgical matters ("the number of the angels and the songs of the armed troops"; "every kind of language and singing"; "sweet-voiced singing") and, possibly, knowledge of legal and ethical codes ("and human life and rules and instructions").

The longer recension has Vereveil instructing Enoch for 30 days and 30 nights, and it says that Enoch "did not rest writing *all the symbols and all the creatures* (въсѣ знаменїа и въсеи твари)."[600] Vereveil also orders his human trainee to write down the destinies of human beings ("all the souls of men, whatever of them are not yet born, and their places, prepared for eternity").[601] The longer recension tells that Enoch then sits for a second period of 30 days and 30 nights, writing everything accurately and producing 366 books. The shorter recension does not mention Vereveil's instruction about the final destinies of human beings, but it tells that Enoch sat down for a second period of 30 days and 30 nights and that he expounded 360 books.[602]

3.3.1 Heavenly Storehouses

Importantly, the heavenly books used in Enoch's initiation come from "storehouses." Besides the reference to the storehouses for heavenly books, the terminology is used several times in *2 Enoch*, as in the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of the Similitudes*, to designate the warehouses (хранилниць) of the treasuries (сокровищ) of meteorological incidents: snow, ice, dew, and clouds. We encounter this designation first in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 5:2,[603] in which the seer offers a report about the angels that guard their "terrible storehouses":[604] "And there I perceived the treasuries (сокровища) of the snow and the ice (голотна),[605] and the angels who guard their terrible storehouses (хранилница), and the treasury of the clouds, from which they come out and go in."[606] The shorter recension uses the term "storehouses," though, this term somehow does not appear in Andersen's English translation: "And they showed me there the treasuries (сокровища) of the snow and the cold, terrible angels are guarding the treasuries. And they showed me these *storehouses of treasuries* (хранилища сокровища), and they showed me the storehouses (хранилница) of the clouds, from which they go in and come out."[607] The terminology of "storehouses" is then used in the next verse (*2 Enoch* 6:1) where the angels are depicted as keeping (or literally "storehousing") "the treasuries of the dew." The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 6:1 reads, "And they [angels] showed me the treasuries of the dew, like olive oil. And the appearance of its image was like every kind of earthly flower, only more numerous; and the angels who are keeping (хранящеи) their treasuries, how they are shut and opened."[608] Here the angels are responsible for opening and closing the heavenly "treasuries," creating an impression that these "treasuries" are in fact "storehouses." In light of this, it is possible that in *2 Enoch*, like in the *Similitudes* and in other biblical and extra-biblical accounts,[609] the concept of "treasury" (אוצר) may be interchangeable with the concept of "storehouse."

Finally, the storehouses' imagery appears during the initiation of Enoch by Vereveil/Vrevoil when the deity orders this angelic servant to bring the books from his (God's) heavenly storehouses. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 22:11 reads, "And the Lord said to Vrevoil, 'Bring out the books from *my*

storehouses (хранилниць моих).’”[610] The text uses the same Slavonic word used earlier in chapters 5 and 6 to designate the enclosures of meteorological “treasure.” The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 22:11 utilizes the same term: “And the Lord said to Vereveil, “Bring out the books from the storehouses (хранилницъ).”[611]

The concept of heavenly storehouses abides in later Enochic texts. In *3 Enoch* 48D:10, Enoch-Metatron carries the heavenly Torah from God’s heavenly storehouses in order to transfer it to Moses: “Metatron brought it out from my storehouses and committed it to Moses and Moses to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra the Scribe.”[612]

The terminology of the storehouses also appears in the revelations Enoch grants to his children in the later chapters of *2 Enoch*. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:10–11, the patriarch tells his children about the warehouses of heavenly marvels and their guardians: “I wrote down (написах) the treasuries (скровища) of the snow, and the storehouses (хранилища) of the cold, and the frosty winds. And I observed how, depending on the season, their custodians (literally “key-holders” – Slav. ключедръжци) fill up the clouds with them, and their treasuries are not emptied. I wrote down the sleeping chambers (ложници) of the winds, and I observed and I saw how their custodians carry scales and measures.”[613]

The combination of the terms “storehouses,” “treasuries,” and “keyholders” in this passage returns in a passage from *3 Enoch* 48C where Enoch-Metatron is associated with the same entities. *3 Enoch* 48C: 2–3 reads, “Lamed: ‘I took him’ – Enoch the son of Jared, from their midst, and brought him up with the sound of the trumpet and with shouting to the height, to be my witness, together with the four creatures of the chariot, to the world to come. Peh: ‘I appointed him’ – over all the storehouses and treasuries (כל גנזים ואוצרות) which I have in every heaven, and I entrusted to him the keys of each of them.”[614] While the seer merely beholds the angels who keep the keys for the heavenly storehouses in *2 Enoch*, he himself holds the keys in *3 Enoch*.

Passages from *2 Enoch* use the notion of the “laying or sleeping chambers” (Slav. ложници/ ложница) along with “storehouses.” Notably, Enoch “writes down” (написах) both the “storehouses” and the “sleeping chambers” – an action that may envision the “storehouses”/“chambers” as reified cosmological mysteries. *2 Enoch*’s terminological parallelism between the storehouses for divine secrets (in the form of the heavenly books) and the storehouses/ chambers of meteorological phenomena may suggest a reified understanding of cosmological secrets.[615] Connections between secrets and storehouses occur in the *Book of the Similitudes*. It appears that *2 Enoch* shares the understanding of the storehouses as not merely chambers for astronomical or meteorological phenomena but also chambers for cosmological secrets.[616] Furthermore, the application of “storehouses” terminology to both heavenly books and cosmological wonders may point to the fact that the meteorological and astronomical entities are envisioned as the deposits of legal knowledge in *2 Enoch*.

The objective existence of heavenly secrets/*halakhot* either in the form of the heavenly books or “chambers” of astronomical, meteorological, and other phenomena deepens the study of Enochic epistemology since Enoch would acquire divine knowledge not merely by learning it introspectively but by visiting the embodied or reified (legal) secrets in their proper celestial locations.

3.4 Secrets of Creation Revealed by God

After Vereveil’s instructions, Enoch’s initiation enters its third and most important stage when God instructs our hero in the secrets that the deity has never before revealed to anyone.

God’s revelation includes a creation account with details not found anywhere else in early Jewish literature. It offers not only a story of the creation of the “visible” world but also narrates God’s actions preceding visible creation, including God’s creation of two primordial aeons – Adoil and Arukhas. Additionally, the account extensively elaborates on familiar biblical motifs found in the initial chapters of the Book of Genesis. The description of God’s revelation occupies a substantial part of *2 Enoch*, stretching from chapter 24 to chapter 33. It concludes with an account of the protoplasts’ creation and their fall. In its rendering of the fall, *2 Enoch* enhances Genesis’ etiology of evil with a story of the otherworldly antagonist, the fallen angel Satanail. Chapter 31 describes how Satanail, as a

part of his evil plot against humankind, entered paradise and corrupted Eve.[617] The longer recension of chapters 24–33 contains a much more extensive version of God's revelation than the shorter recension.

One of the notable features of the mysteries of creation that Enoch receives directly from God, a facet which is absent in other early Enochic writings, is a tendency to link cosmological realities with human anthropology and, more specifically, with elements of the human body. In this conceptual move, the familiar Enochic tendency to connect cosmology with the moral condition of humankind takes a new turn.

The connection between cosmology and anthropology is elaborated in God's revelation about the sevenfold nature of humanity, a tradition preserved solely in the manuscripts of the longer recension. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 30:8 recounts that on the sixth day God commanded his wisdom to create man out of the seven components:[618]

> His flesh from earth;
> His blood from dew and from the sun;
> His eyes from bottomless sea;
> His bones from stone;
> His reason from the mobility of angels and from clouds;
> His sinews and hair from grass of the earth;
> His spirit from my spirit and from wind.[619]

This account of Adam's creation from seven substances envisions astronomical (the sun), meteorological (clouds, wind, dew), gemological (stone), and geographical (earth, sea) entities as the building blocks of Adam's body, his reason, and his "spirit." Notably, in *2 Enoch* the human's spirit is created not only from God's own spirit, as in Genesis 2, but also from "wind." The winds play a major role in the cosmological system of the Enochic tradition since "the spirit-winds and their divisions" are envisioned "as the last causes of the movements in the astral and meteorological realm."[620] *2 Enoch*'s pneumatological developments, however, cohere with earlier literature to a degree. For example, Klaus Koch notes that in the *Book of the Similitudes*, "spirit-winds are also acting in the minds of angels (68:2) and men (41:8; 61:1; 62:1)."[621]

Although the tradition about Adam's creation from seven components widely circulated in various Christian milieus and is known from multiple sources,[622] its appearance in *2 Enoch* has special significance due to the role these cosmological entities play in this apocalypse and in the Enochic tradition in general. The account of Adam's creation takes the theme of cosmological secrets to a new conceptual level, imbedding the subjects of cosmological mysteries into the first human's body, envisioning them as essential parts of his nature.[623] The embodiment brings to mind the Watchers' own reification of the cosmological secrets referenced in their names. In this conceptual framework, the Watchers' control of various elements of creation may also signify their control of human nature, which is composed from the same cosmological elements. These conceptual currents will develop further in later heterodox Christian materials.[624]

From this perspective, the Watchers' corruption of the cosmological elements closely relates to the corruption of human nature itself. It also signifies that the corruption of human nature through the violation of moral codes in its turn may lead to the corruption of cosmological realities since they represent the archetypal elements from which the human body was once created.[625] The composition of the human body from cosmological elements provides additional links between the structure of the cosmos, human nature, and moral behavior – the links which play an important role in the initial chapters of the *Book of the Watchers*. The correlations reoccur in other early Enochic books, including *2 Enoch*, where the measuring of cosmological phenomena goes hand in hand with measuring human righteousness.

Adam's role as the king and steward of God's creation – the office which *2 Enoch* ultimately assigns to Enoch in his new role as the governor of the earth – marks another notable aspect of God's revelation.[626] The influx of Adamic traditions in *2 Enoch*, especially in the manuscripts of the longer recension, often puzzles scholars. Yet, the appearance of these traditions (either in their original or interpolated form) is not coincidental; they lay an important conceptual foundation for Enoch's role as

the custodian of God's creation, the warden who rectifies the cosmological order damaged by the Watchers.

Appropriately, the depiction of Adam as the king of the earth first appears in God's revelations about the secrets of creation. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 30:12, the deity conveys to Enoch that he assigned Adam to be a king, to reign on the earth, and to have his [God's] wisdom. This honorable role in *2 Enoch*, as in the Genesis account, represents not merely an impressive metaphor but presupposes specific duties that demonstrate Adam's royal status. Most of these activities have biblical roots.[627] From *2 Enoch* 58:3, one learns that the Lord appointed Adam over

> everything [as king], and he subjected everything to him in subservience under his hand, both the dumb and the deaf, to be commanded and for submission and for every servitude. So also to every human being. The Lord created mankind to be the lord of all his possessions.[628]

This description of Adam's duties corresponds to the account found in Gen 1:26–30, wherein God gives Adam dominion over "everything that has the breath of life." As in Gen 2:19–20, one of the most important functions of the newly appointed king is the *registration* of all the possessions (i.e., all the living creatures of the earth given to his stewardship) through naming them. *2 Enoch* 58 states that

> the Lord came down onto the earth [on account of Adam]. And he inspected all his creatures which he himself had created in the beginning of the thousand ages and when after all those he had created Adam. And the Lord summoned all the animals of the earth and all reptiles of the earth and all the birds that fly in the air, and he brought them all before the face of our father Adam, so that he might pronounce names for all the quadrupeds; and [Adam] named everything that lives on the earth.[629]

Assigning names, just as in the Genesis account, designates Adam's dominion over "everything that lives on the earth." The whole picture indicates that the author of *2 Enoch* understands Adam's kingship as the management of God's property.[630] It is significant that *2 Enoch* defines Adam's role as "the lord of all God's possessions."[631] Adam's "registering" of God's creatures can be seen as an important protological precedent for Enoch's "registering" (measuring, counting, weighing) of various cosmological aspects of created order. In *2 Enoch*, then, the governing role of Adam as the lord of all God's possessions serves as a protological template for the fashioning of another steward of creation – Enoch in his new role as "the governor of the earth."

3.5 Enoch's Preparation for Transmission of Divine Knowledge to Humankind

An important feature of *2 Enoch*, not found in other early Enochic documents, is the description of Enoch's striking metamorphosis before his return to earth. *2 Enoch* 37 recounts an unusual procedure performed on the seer's face at the final stage of his encounter with the deity in the seventh heaven. After the utmost mysteries of the universe are revealed to him, Enoch must return to the earth to share these revelations with humans. However, his glorious celestial visage poses a problem for his communication with earthly creatures. Anticipating the problem, God calls one of his senior angels to chill Enoch's face. The text says that the angel was "terrifying and frightful" and appeared frozen. The angel was as white as snow and his hands as cold as ice. With his cold hands the angel chills the patriarch's face. Right after the unusual procedure, the deity informs Enoch that, if his face had not been chilled, no human being would have been able to look at him.

I have previously argued that the reference to the dangerous radiance of Enoch's face after his encounter with the deity represents a reinterpretation of the biblical motif of the incandescent face of Moses after his experience at Sinai.[632] As one remembers from Exodus, the son of Amram also descends with divine knowledge from the abode of the deity to the abode of human beings.[633]

The episode is interesting since it evokes not only Moses' story but also the story of the rogue Watchers. As in the case of the fallen angels, otherworldly knowledge must cross the border of realms

and be introduced to the human race.

In contrast to Enoch, the Watchers introduce divine secrets through violence inflicted upon humanity – most graphically conveyed in the descriptions of the sexual intercourses of the Watchers given in the *Animal Apocalypse. 2 Enoch* inverts the Watchers' story, showing that any potentially frightening angelic appearance to be mitigated already in heaven by the frozen angel at God's command. Furthermore, unlike in the case of the rogue Watchers, God supervises Enoch during his commissioning to disperse divine knowledge as well as his preparation for the mission to the earth.[634]

Unlike some other heroes of early Jewish apocalyptic literature, Enoch does not return to the earth "for good." God, instead, informs him that after 30 days he will be taken back to heaven. Enoch, thus, is envisioned as a heavenly messenger, whose ontology changes only for a short mission to the earth in order to transmit divine knowledge to humankind. Unlike the fallen Watchers, his trip to the earth does not presuppose any permanent, or even long-lasting, social and familial commitments. He is no longer a member of the human race. One additional detail emerges later in the story when Enoch has arrived on the earth in the midst of his family. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 56:2, Methuselah asks his father for a blessing so that he may prepare some food for him to eat. The patriarch answers his son in the following manner: "Listen, child! Since the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, food has not come into me, and earthly pleasure my soul does not remember; nor do I desire anything earthly."[635] In the shorter recension of *2 Enoch*, the patriarch's rejection of food is even more intense: "Listen my child! Since the time when the Lord anointed me with ointment of my glory, it has been horrible for me, and food is not agreeable to me, and I have no desire for earthly food."[636] The episode contrasts the Watchers' mission and Enoch's mission. While the divine knowledge helps to assimilate the Watchers into humankind when they transmit their secrets to their human wives, in Enoch's case it does not because he no longer belongs to the human race.

3.6 Angelic Guardians of Enoch's Books

The text of Enoch's preparation for his trip to the earth refers to angelic guardians of his books, whose purpose is to secure the survival of the patriarch's writings until the eschaton. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 33:9–12 reads,

> And deliver to them the books in your handwriting, and they will read them and know their Creator. And they will understand this also how that there is no other Creator except myself. And distribute the books in your handwriting to your children and (your) children to (their) children; and the parents will read (them) from generation to generation. For I will give you an intercessor, Enoch, my archistratig, Michail, on account of your handwritings and the handwritings of your fathers – Adam and Seth. They will not be destroyed until the final age. For I have commanded my angels, Ariokh and Mariokh, whom I have appointed on the earth to guard them and to command the things of time to preserve the handwritings of your fathers so that they might not perish in the impending flood which I will create in your generation.[637]

Notably, the angels Ariokh and Mariokh are appointed as the books' guardians *on the earth*, which puts them in the category of angelic beings responsible not only for the protection but also for the dissemination of the divine mysteries. Josef Milik has suggested that the angelic names of Ariokh and Mariokh found in *2 Enoch* 33 may represent the equivalents of the angels Hārūt and Mārūt of the Muslim legends attested in the second sura of the *Qur'an*.[638] Milik's hypothesis fits, originally, into his broader argument for the late date of *2 Enoch*. Yet, the scholarly community has not been convinced by his proposal. John Collins has pointed out that "the alleged correspondence of the angels Ariokh and Mariokh to Hārūt and Mārūt of Muslim legend is indecisive,[639] since the origin of these figures has not been established."[640] In the exegetical elaborations of the Hārūt and Mārūt tale preserved in the *ḥadīth* literature[641] and included often in the *tafsīr* materials,[642] one can discern familiar Jewish motifs about the fallen Watchers. One example, transmitted by Al-Thaʿlabī, includes apparent "Enochic" allusions:

> He said: "She was a woman who exceeded other women in loveliness and beauty in the same way that al-Zuhara exceeds all other stars. They say that at the time of evening when Hārūt and Mārūt, after engaging in their sin, were ready to ascend to heaven, their wings would not obey them. Then they knew what had befallen them. They went to Idrīs (upon him be peace!) and recounted their case to him, and they asked him if he would petition God Most High on their behalf. They said to him: 'We have noticed that you send up an amount of devotional service that is equivalent to that sent up by the rest of the inhabitants of the earth. Intercede for us with God Most High!'" He said: "Idrīs did that, and God gave them an option between punishment in this world and punishment in the world to come. They selected punishment in this world because it will have an end. They are in Babylon undergoing punishment."[643]

In this passage, rogue heavenly beings ask Idrīs, who is traditionally associated with Enoch in Muslim lore, to write a petition to God for them, which the seventh antediluvian hero does in the *Book of the Watchers*.

While Enochic connections are certainly discernable, it not entirely clear whether the story of Hārūt and Mārūt was enhanced with Enochic motifs in the Muslim environment or if it belongs to a broader Enochic angelological tradition, that the *Qur'an* reworked and abbreviated.[644] Some commentaries on the second sura of the *Qur'an*[645] found in the *tafsīr* materials speak not about Hārūt and Mārūt but, instead, about *'Aza* and *Azazil*, depicting them as the culprits responsible for illicit revelations to al-Zuhara.[646] The Muslim interpretations of the Hārūt and Mārūt story demonstrate similarities to later rabbinic and post-rabbinic Jewish narratives about the fallen angels, including the so-called *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*.[647] Some scholars have previously suggested that these later Jewish "Enochic" accounts were influenced by Islam.[648] The "back-borrowing" hypothesis has come under criticism from experts who convincingly argue that the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* and similar accounts reflect uninterrupted Jewish trajectories.[649]

It is possible that in *2 Enoch* the Ariokh and Mariokh story has already become linked to the fallen angels story. God's commission of the two angels to the earth to guard Enoch's books represents a novel move in early Enochic lore, forming an inverse eschatological counterpart to the fallen Watchers' descent and dispersal of divine knowledge to antediluvian humanity.

Especially important for our study is the conclusion of the books' guardians story found in chapter 35. In chapter 35, Ariokh and Mariokh are responsible not only for guarding Enoch's books on earth but also for their dispersion to the faithful remnant of the last generation. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 35:1–3 contains the following final verdict of the deity:

> And I will leave a righteous man from your tribe, together with all his house, who will act according to my will. And from his seed another generation will arise, the last of many, and very gluttonous. Then at the conclusion of that generation the books in your handwriting will be revealed, and those of your fathers, and the *earthly guardians* (стражие земстеи) [of these books] will show them to the Men of Faith. And they will be recounted to that generation, and they will be glorified in the end more than in the beginning.[650]

Here, the deity declares that the "earthly guardians" of Enoch's books, who earlier in the apocalypse, are named as the angels Ariokh and Mariokh, will dispatch the divine knowledge, exemplified in Enoch's books, to the righteous elect of the last generation, the "Men of Faith." The dispersal of divine knowledge *by angels* in the eschatological age may serve as a positive counterpart to the fallen Watchers' illicit pedagogy in the antediluvian period.[651] Three details deserve note. First, the eschatological distribution of divine knowledge is intended for the *Men* of Faith, who may serve here as a gendered counterpart to the women that received the Watchers' illicit instructions. Second, the text defines the last generation as very gluttonous, a quality which evokes the memory of the Watchers' offspring – the Giants, wrongdoers known for their gluttonous appetites. Thirdly, in this last gluttonous generation, angels will once again reveal the heavenly knowledge, however, this time, with God's approval. Like in many other apocalyptic accounts, eschatology mirrors protology. They will not corrupt but, instead, save the faithful remnant.

3.7 Enoch's Instructions to His Children

After receiving God's teaching about the secrets of creation and after his visage is properly chilled by the "frozen angel," Enoch travels to the earth for 30 days in order to share knowledge with his sons.[652] This narrative move inaugurates the next stage of Enoch's epistemological development. In *2 Enoch* 39–67, Enoch reveals to his children new details of his initiation into the cosmological secrets. Unlike God's instructions about the secrets of creation, which exist primarily in the longer recension, Enoch's revelations to his progeny are attested in both recensions of *2 Enoch*.

Enoch's revelatory discourse to his sons includes two major thematic clusters: cosmological secrets and moral admonitions, which have occurred often in tandem in the patriarch's instructions.[653] The parallelism provides additional weight to the hypothesis that the text presents two types of *halakhot* – one intended for the "stars" and the other for humans.[654] Often, similar imagery – like the symbolism of "scales" and "balances" – is applied to both the actions of astronomical and meteorological entities as well as the moral deeds of human beings. The cosmological "measurements" may serve as archetypal *halakhot* for human moral behavior similar to Mosaic commandments. However, unlike the Mosaic precepts, which human actions illustrate, this cosmological moral code unveils its decrees through the processions of astronomical and meteorological phenomena. The juxtaposition of cosmological legislation with the moral rules of human behavior in Enoch's instructions also provides fresh insight into the fallen Watchers' situation. The Watchers' own cosmological revelations can be seen as a part of the antinomian code. Their dispatch of illicit cosmological knowledge forms a basis for their illegitimate ethical praxis, including their immoral sexual behavior. As in the case of Enoch's teaching, in which proper cosmological laws serve as a blueprint for righteous human actions, the Watchers' instructions show that corrupted cosmological knowledge correlates with sexual transgressions.

Enoch's disclosure of the cosmological law in *2 Enoch* appears to be patterned on the patriarch's revelation to Methuselah in the *Astronomical Book*, wherein he tells his son about "the law of the stars which set in their places, at their times, at their set times, and in their months" and discloses to him "the names of those who lead them, who keep watch so they enter at their times, who lead them in their places, in their orders, in their times, in their months, in their jurisdictions, and in their positions" (*1 Enoch* 82:9–10).

The importance of the "law of the stars" is affirmed in *1 Enoch* 79:1, which appears to designate all Enoch's cosmological revelations to his son as the "law of the stars."[655] As previously shown, the author of *2 Enoch* also knows about this legislation when he speaks about "*their [the cosmological phenomena] laws"* (уставы ихъ) in *2 Enoch* 40:8[656] and about the "commandments and instructions" (заповѣди и поученїа) in the context of cosmological speculations found in *2 Enoch* 19:2–3.[657]

Debate continues on whether Enoch's revelations of cosmological phenomena and their calendrical correspondences to his children in *2 Enoch* can be considered "halakhic." In his paper on *halakha* in *2 Enoch*, delivered at the fifth conference of the Enoch Seminar, Lawrence Schiffman argued that his "investigation of *2 Enoch* and *halakha* has turned out essentially to show that the phenomenon we generally call *halakha* is completely absent in the book of *2 Enoch*."[658] A responder to Schiffman's paper, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, has pointed to one important halakhic aspect of *2 Enoch*, which he argues has been missed in Schiffman's analysis: its calendar. Stökl Ben Ezra points out that "one of the most important halakhic issues seems to be calendars. And clearly, calendars are one of the most important issues in *2 Enoch*."[659] Indeed, the calendrical revelations unveiled by Enoch attest to the most visible halakhic dimension of *2 Enoch*. They serve as a portentous link, connecting cosmological parameters and processions with human individual and social life, especially their cultic aspects. In short, it links the ethical patterns of the "law of the stars" with the moral fabric of humankind.[660] Scholars have previously noted that, in the Enochic tradition, the distinction between the righteous and sinners is determined among other things by the correctness of the cosmological measurements embodied in the calendrical calculations.[661] Jackson points out that the early Enochic booklets

had established the definitive and mandatory nature of the 364-day calendar such that its

> acceptance constituted a defining distinction between the righteous and the sinners. … The Books of Enoch established the concept that men go astray because they conduct their lives on the basis of their observation of deviant phenomena instead of being governed by the law of God. *Jubilees* then worked with the implications of this aspect of the Enochic paradigm in detail. We can trace a firm tradition within the Qumran literature which accepted and expanded the implications of this construction.[662]

On the whole, Enoch's instructions to his children, attested in later chapters of *2 Enoch*, reveal that his epistemological profile is strikingly different from other early Enochic documents. These instructions show him not merely as a recipient of cosmological secrets but the one able to control creation through his expertise in cosmological knowledge. This ability finds its most forceful expression in Enoch's rectification of the Watchers' celestial liturgy. Although some traditions found in early Enochic booklets and, especially, in the *Epistle of Enoch* hint at Enoch's grasp of cosmological processes and realities through measuring and counting routines, they hesitate to depict him as governing various aspects of creation, instead delegating this role to angels. *2 Enoch* brings these early probes to a new conceptual level, portraying the seventh patriarch as the controlling force of the created order. These developments may show early traces of Enoch-Metatron's role as the Prince of the World, which one detects in *Sefer Hekhalot* and other Jewish mystical accounts.[663] The important conceptual steps warrant further exploration.

3.8 God's Measuring, Counting, Weighing, and Balancing of Creation

Like the fallen Watchers, who pass to humankind not merely abstract information but *technai* in the form of metallurgical, medicinal, and cosmetological "knowhow," Enoch's acquisition of divine knowledge entails a practical dimension. The patriarch learns cosmological mysteries via practical interaction with cosmological realities when he records, measures, weighs, and calculates them. Scholars often detect in these routines a possible reference to demiurgical activity, reminiscent of the deity's own protological actions towards creation. Various Jewish accounts often ascribe such demiurgic actions as measuring and calculating solely to God. A short excursus in these traditions is necessary.

Scholars have previously noticed that Enoch's measuring and calculating of cosmological entities reflect the deity's own actions as attested in various biblical and pseudepigraphical accounts. The epistemological and, more importantly, the demiurgical profile of Enoch in this respect is set not against the proficiency of God's angels but against the expertise of the deity. The theme of measuring offers a straightforward point of entry.

3.8.1 Measuring Creation as Divine Prerogative

Measuring cosmological phenomena is often envisioned as the prerogative of the deity in various Jewish materials.[664] Some accounts link these measuring endeavors with the deity's demiurgical efforts. *Testament of Naphtali* 2:3 reminds its readers that "by weight and measure and rule every creation of the Most High is (made)."[665]

The divine praxis of measuring cosmological realities is acknowledged, directly and indirectly, in several biblical and extra-biblical Jewish accounts.[666] The Book of Job hints at it in the rhetorical questions directed by the deity to Job in Job 38:3–5. God challenges the protagonist with a series of questions which cast doubt on humanity's ability to measure cosmological realities:

> Gird up your loins like a man, I will question you, and you shall declare to me. "Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth? Tell me, if you have understanding. Who determined its measurements – surely you know! Or who stretched the line upon it?"

The literary form of such traditions warrants further analysis. They are often presented as a set of rhetorical questions from the deity (or angels) to an adept, commanding the adept to contemplate or

perform certain actions that he cannot accomplish. *4 Ezra* 4:5 offers an example when its protagonist is asked to measure the wind: "I said, 'Speak on, my lord.' And he said to me, 'Go, weigh for me the weight of fire, or measure for me a measure of wind, or call back for me the day that is past.'"[667] Similarly, in *2 Bar*. 48:5, the hero receives the command, "You investigate the end of the heights, and you scrutinize the depths of darkness."[668]

Michael Stone discerns a connection between the rhetorical queries found in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* and their counterparts in the Book of Job. He points out that "it is clear that many of the elements mentioned in the lists in *4 Ezra* and in *2 Baruch* are drawn from the important chapters 28 and 38 of the Book of Job."[669] Sirach 1:1–3 contains another example of this type of rhetoric: "all wisdom is from the Lord, and with him it remains forever. The sand of the sea, the drops of rain, and the days of eternity – who can count them? The height of heaven, the breadth of the earth, the abyss, and wisdom – who can search them out?"

The examples of the rhetorical device demonstrate humanity's limitations in measuring various cosmological realities, implicitly affirming that such actions can be performed only by God. Menahem Kister notes that the measuring terminology "is used prominently in the context of the divine ordering of periods of time, and probably in the context of creation in general. It is also used in connection with the different spiritual 'measures' with which people are endowed … . The divine measurements apply to God's action in nature and in history, to His laws and to His relation to humanity (especially to His elected group)."[670]

God's measuring of cosmological realities relates closely to his creative activity. Grant Macaskill points out that "the association of weight and measurement imagery with God's architectural activity in creation is found in the biblical material, notably in Isa 40:12, a passage which rhetorically questions the ability anybody except God to measure certain natural phenomena: 'Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?'"[671] Macaskill further suggests that in the Book of Isaiah "the image of the scales/balance … is simply one of a range of measuring devices used by God in his role as architect or master-builder. The controlling image is that of construction, with the scales functioning as an incidental – if important – detail. It is specifically the mountains and hills that are measured in these devices; nothing is said about the substances of light, or of wind, or otherwise of climate."[672]

Summarizing God's measuring endeavors, Kister points out that in early Jewish lore the concept of divine measurement "applies to almost any aspect of God's deeds. … The idea of God's measurements relates to the physical and to the metaphysical, to space and to time, to history and to law, to order and to ordinances to property and to wisdom, to God's actions and to the proper behavior of the pious. It is thus the main principle of God's activity in the world."[673]

3.8.2 Counting Creation as Divine Prerogative

Along with measuring, God often counts cosmological phenomena in various biblical and extrabiblical Jewish accounts. The deity's exclusive right to count his creation is, again, expressed via rhetorical questions posed to a human adept. A biblical example can be found in Gen 15:5 when God asks Abraham to count the stars on the sky: "He brought him outside and said, 'Look toward heaven and count the stars, if you are able to count them.' Then he said to him, 'So shall your descendants be.'" A similar strategy can be seen in *4 Ezra* 4:7 where the protagonist is asked to calculate various aspects of creation, which no human can: "And he said to me, 'If I had asked you, How many dwellings are in the heart of the sea, or how many springs are at the source of the deep, or how many ways are above the firmament, or which are the exits of hell, or which are the entrances of paradise?'"[674] *Sirach* 1:1–3 posits its own set of rhetorical questions that pertain to the computing of various meteorological and cosmological phenomena: "all wisdom is from the Lord, and with him it remains forever. The sand of the sea, the drops of rain, and the days of eternity – who can count them? The height of heaven, the breadth of the earth, the abyss, and wisdom – who can search them out?"

Other texts affirm God's ability to count cosmological realities in a more straightforward manner. Examples include Ps 147:4, which says that God "determines the number of the stars; he gives to all of them their names." In this passage God not only counts the stars but also gives them their names.

Another description that combines the calculating and naming of heavenly bodies can be found in Isa 40:26: "Lift up your eyes on high and see: Who created these? He who brings out their host and numbers them, calling them all by name." Extrabiblical Jewish accounts are also cognizant of the deity's acts towards the stars. For example, *6 Ezra* 16:56 affirms that by God's word "the stars were set up, and he knows the number of the stars."[675] A similar affirmation can be found in *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 21:2 when Joshua utters the following: "You beyond all know, Lord, what moves the heart of the sea before it rages, you have searched out the constellations and numbered the stars and regulated the rain; you know the mind of all generations before they are born."[676] These traditions demonstrate that God's numbering and regulating of the stars constitutes a formal affirmation of his omniscience and power.

3.8.3 Weighing and Balancing Creation as Divine Prerogative

In some Jewish accounts, God not only measures and calculates astronomical and meteorological wonders, he also weighs them using scales. One can find an example of this tradition in Isaiah 40:12, which voices a set of rhetorical questions: "Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?" In this passage, God secures the harmony of his creation by carefully balancing its various elements. *2 Bar*. 48:4 speaks about God's weighing of the wind: "You make known the abundance of fire, and the lightness of the wind you weigh." A similar tradition can be found in *4 Ezra* 4:5, which also mentions fire: "I said, 'Speak on, my lord.' And he said to me, 'Go, weigh for me the weight of fire, or measure for me a measure of wind, or call back for me the day that is past.'"

In *4 Ezra* 4:36–37, God's balancing praxis is extended to temporal realities: "For He has weighed the age in the balance, and measured the times by measure, and numbered the times by number." Interpreting these verses, Nili Shupak suggests that "here, God weighs the world and measures the times, the succession of the time thereby being determined by a preformed divine plan and part of the creation of the world."[677]

While the aforementioned biblical and extrabiblical accounts strive to underline God's unique expertise in measuring, counting, and weighing cosmological phenomena, in *2 Enoch* one encounters a striking paradigm shift: Enoch insists that it is he that is now able to count stars as well as weigh and balance various cosmological wonders. Some experts have proposed that the extension of Enoch's expertise may be hinted at already in a set of rhetorical questions found in the *Epistle of Enoch*. Yet, in *2 Enoch* the descriptions of these mighty deeds come directly from the patriarch's mouth, unambiguously establishing him as a unique agent, able to measure, to count, and to balance God's creation in a manner comparable to the deity.

3.9 Enoch's Measuring, Counting, Balancing, and Recording Creation

While the scope of the Watchers' knowledge is presented as fragmentary, divided among several angelic figures who each have only limited proficiency, Enoch's expertise in *2 Enoch* and some other early Enochic documents is presented as comprehensive. Furthermore, unlike the Watchers, who according to the *Book of the Watchers* possess "worthless mysteries,"[678] the knowledge which was devalued by their rouge behavior, in *2 Enoch* the seer receives secrets never previously disclosed, even to the angels. Appropriately, Enoch's instruction to his children in *2 Enoch* begins with the patriarch's affirmation of his own omniscience. In *2 Enoch* 40, Enoch utters the following: "And now therefore, my children, I know everything; for either from the lips of the Lord or else my eyes have seen from the beginning even to the end, and from the end to the recommencement. I know everything, and everything I have written down in books, the heavens and their boundaries and their contents."[679] Commenting on this bold statement, Christfried Böttrich points out that *2 Enoch* applies to Enoch what was said about God in *1 Enoch* 84:3:[680] "You know and see and hear all things, and there is nothing that is hidden from you."[681]

The soteriological dimension of Enoch's expertise, hinted at in the *Book of the Watchers*, the *Astronomical Book*, and the *Book of the Similitudes* comes to its full expression in *2 Enoch* – where many

epistemological trajectories initiated in other early Enochic booklets reach their conceptual apex. In this respect, *2 Enoch* offers an unprecedented panoply of strategies by which Enoch repairs and balances creation disturbed by the fallen Watchers' actions and their illicit pedagogy. The strategies of the seventh antediluvian hero, in many ways, emulate the aforementioned schemes by which God traditionally sustains his creation, establishing divine harmony through calculating, measuring, and weighing various aspects of the created order.

3.9.1 Measuring Creation

Later Jewish mystical accounts depict Enoch-Metatron as a measurer[682] not only of the cosmological realities,[683] but also of the divine body, God's *Shiʿur Qomah*. Abraham Kahana,[684] Gershom Scholem,[685] and other scholars[686] have traced the conceptual roots of this motif to *2 Enoch* 39 where Enoch sees "the extent of the Lord, without measure and without analogy."[687] The patriarch's expertise as a measurer is reiterated many times in *2 Enoch* in relation to various phenomena, including cosmological realities. Already, at the very beginning of his celestial trip, he is portrayed as one who not only beholds astronomical marvels but also measures them. Thus, in the fourth heaven Enoch measures the heavenly bodies and compares their light. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 11:2 reads,

> And I measured their movements and I compared their light. And I saw that the sun has a light seven times greater than the moon. And I saw his circle and his wheels on which he always goes, going past always like the wind with quite marvelous speed. And his coming and his return give him no rest, day and night.[688]

In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 13:2, Enoch also measures the solar gates: "And I saw 6 open gates, each gate having 61 stadia and a quarter of a stadium. And I measured carefully and I figured out their size to be so much – through which the sun comes out and goes off to the west."[689]

Measuring constitutes an important mode of Enoch's acquisition of cosmological secrets, including astronomical knowledge. Enoch is able to learn in depth about various aspects of creation by quantifying them. Since the proper trajectories, places, and schedules of cosmological phenomena play an essential role in the "law of the stars," sometimes envisioned as its "commandments," the patriarch's quantifying fulfills an important soteriological function since, by his measurements, he (re)establishes the correct parameters of the cosmological *halakhot* violated by the Watchers' rogue behavior.

The true scope of Enoch's expertise in measuring God's creation becomes clear in his instructions to his children, reflected in the later chapters of *2 Enoch*, where he conveys, in detail, his acquisition of cosmological secrets. At the very beginning of his discourse to his sons, Enoch reveals exact ways in which he measured the contents of the heavens. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40 reads,

> 40:1 And now therefore, my children, I know everything; for either from the lips of the Lord or else my eyes have seen from the beginning even to the end, and from the end to the recommencement. 40:2 I know everything, and everything I have written down in books, the heavens and their boundaries and their contents. And all the armies and their movements I have measured (измѣрих). And I have recorded the stars and the multitude of multitudes innumerable. 40:3 What human being can seed their cycles and their phases? For not even the angels know their number. But I have written down all their names. 40:4 The solar circle I have measured, and its rays I have measured (измѣрих), the hours I have counted; and its entrances in all the months, and its departures, and all its movements – their names I have written down. 40:5 The lunar circle I have measured (измѣрих), and its movements which are in accordance with each day, and the diminution which it undergoes during each day and night in accordance with all the hours. 40:6 I appointed 4 seasons, and from the seasons I created 4 cycles, and in the cycles I appointed the year, and I appointed months, and from the months I counted days, and from the days I measured off (размѣрих) the hours and I counted them and wrote them down … . 40:12 I measured (прѣмѣрых) all the earth, and its mountains and hills and fields and woods and stones and rivers, and everything that exists. I wrote down the height from the earth to the seventh heaven, and the depth to the lowermost hell, and the place of

> condemnation, and the supremely large hell, open and weeping.[690]

According to *2 Enoch* 40:2, Enoch has measured (*измѣри*х) what appears to be stars, described as "all the armies" of heavens, and "their movements." In verse 4, he assesses "the solar circle … and its rays." In verse 5, he performs the same actions towards "the lunar circle … and its movements."[691] In verse 6, Enoch's measuring expertise extends to the calendar, referring to "measuring of the hours." In verse 12, the seer measures some geographical entities, including "the earth, and its mountains and hills and fields and woods and stones and rivers, and everything that exists." He also calculates "the height from the earth to the seventh heaven, and the depth to the lowermost hell."[692]

Enoch's measuring of calendrical data is also mentioned in the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 43:1:

> And behold, my children, having experienced the things that have been ordered on the earth, I have written them down. I, I have arranged the whole year. And from the year I have calculated the months, and from the months I have ticked off the days, and from the day I have ticked off the hours. I, I have measured and noted the hours. And I have distinguished every seed on the earth, and every measure and every righteous scale. I, I have measured and recorded them, just as the Lord commanded me.[693]

In contrast to the shorter recension, the longer recension of 43:1 does not mention anything about Enoch's measuring.[694]

The references to Enoch's measuring activities also appear in an excerpt of *2 Enoch* preserved in *Merilo Pravednoe*.[695] This work reiterates traditions from *2 Enoch* 40, offering new details. In its narrative, Enoch claims that "he compared every measure and the just balance he measured."[696] It is not coincidental that the comparison of "every measure" coincides with the notion of "just balance." It shows that Enoch's duty includes establishing comprehensive correspondences between various aspects of the created order, which directly relates to the harmonization of God's creation.

Enoch's role as measurer may rely on conceptual developments found in the booklets of *1 Enoch* where the angels are depicted as measurers of cosmological phenomena. In *1 Enoch* 60:22b, angels are put in charge of the "measure," which is indicated through the phrase, "there is a measure for the rain, and the angels are given charge of it." A more detailed description of angelic measuring can be found in *1 Enoch* 61:1–5:

> 61:1 And I saw in those days, long cords were given to those angels, and they took for themselves wings and flew and went toward the North. 61:2 And I asked the angel, "Why did these take the cords and go?" And he said to me, "They went so that they may measure." 61:3 And the angel who went with me said to me, "These will bring the measurements of the righteous, and the ropes of the righteous to the righteous; so that they may rely on the name of the Lord of Spirits forever and ever. 61:4 And the chosen will begin to dwell with the chosen; and these are the measurements that will be given to faith, and they will strengthen righteousness. 61:5 And these measurements will reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth, and those who were destroyed by the desert, and those who were devoured by beasts, and those who were devoured by the fish of the sea; so that they may return and rely on the day of the Chosen One; for no one will be destroyed in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and no one is able to be destroyed."[697]

In this description the measurement of the righteous is linked to the secrets of "the depths of the earth," and one sees similar juxtaposition of the measurement of cosmological phenomena with the measurement of human righteousness later in *2 Enoch*. In *1 Enoch* 70:3, one can find reference to the angels' measuring ropes when Enoch reports that "the angels took cords to measure for me [Enoch] the place of the chosen and the righteous."[698]

The motif of measuring cosmological marvels appears in the rhetorical questions of the *Epistle of Enoch* 93:13–14, which scholars believe allude to Enoch's own expertise:

> 93:13 Or who is there of all men who is able to know what is the width and length of the earth; and

> to whom has the size of all them been shown? 93:14 And who is there of all men who is able to know the length of the heavens, and what is their height and upon what they are founded?[699]

A comparison of the tradition from the *Epistle of Enoch* and the description found in *2 Enoch* 40 shows similarities not only in their content but also in their literary form. Thus, in *2 Enoch*, the patriarch conveys his expertise through a set of rhetorical questions, challenging not only human's but also angels' ability to perform the relevant actions: "What human being can seed their cycles and their phases? For not even the angels know their number."[700]

Similar to *1 Enoch*'s booklets, in *2 Enoch* 40:8–9 Enoch relays to his children information not only about his own measuring activities but also about angels' measuring routines[701] and the tools they use for measuring cosmological wonders:

> And the dwelling places of the clouds, their organization and their wings, and how they carry the rain and the raindrops – all this I investigated. And I wrote down the rumble of the thunder and the lightning; and they showed me the keys and their keepers, and the places where they go, where they go in and where they go out, by measure. They are raised by means of a chain, and they are lowered by means of a chain, so that he does not drop the clouds of anger with terrible injuries and violence, and destroy everything on the earth.[702]

Reflecting on this description, Macaskill points out that it associates "the phenomena of thunder and lightning with some kind of measure/balance (*měra*, мѣра, 40:9). Here, the thunder and lightning are carefully weighed out and distributed by means of a chain in order to protect the clouds and the earth."[703]

In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:11, one can find another depiction of the angels' measuring routines: "I wrote down the sleeping chambers of the winds, and I observed and I saw how their custodians carry *scales and measures* (привесы и мѣры). And first they place them in the scales, and secondly in the measure, and it is by *measure* that they release them skillfully into all the earth, lest the earth should be rocked by violent gusts."[704] Macaskill points out that the angelic custodians guarding the chambers are "ensuring that the winds are released in a controlled way in order to avoid causing destruction to the earth."[705] Importantly, one can observe a close parallelism between the actions of the angelic custodians and Enoch's own actions, which may point to his role as a guardian of cosmological phenomena. Furthermore, the angelic custodians' measuring routines have a harmonizing effect upon creation, allowing them to safeguard one element of creation from the harmful effects of another. The motif provides an additional proof that Enoch's measuring activities are not intended merely for the seer's entertainment but, instead, are envisioned as tools for the healing and rectifying of creation.

The necessity of proper measurements for the flawless functioning of creation is reaffirmed in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 48:3–4 where Enoch speaks about the sun's regulations of the harvests:

> And in this way the sun moves along all the celestial circles. When he comes close to the earth, then the earth is merry and makes its fruit grow. But when he goes away, then the earth laments, and the trees and all fruits have no productivity. *All this is by measurement, and by the most precise measurement of the hours.* He fixed it by measure, by his own wisdom, (that is everything) visible and invisible. From the invisible things and the visible things he created all the visible things; and he himself is invisible.[706]

Scholars have previously noted that in *1 Enoch*'s booklets the measuring praxis appears to fulfill a "stabilizing" role. Thus, reflecting on the actions of the angels with measuring ropes in *1 Enoch* 61:1–5,[707] Nickelsburg and VanderKam suggest that "the point here seems to be that, by bringing to the righteous the measurements of the place of their future habitation, the angels provide the righteous with the 'ropes' or the moorings that stabilize them, or enable them to rely (lit. 'to lean'), through faith, on the name of the Lord of Spirits. In this interpretation, the measuring lines become ropes anchored in the Lord."[708] One can also see a connection between the measurement of the cosmos

and the stabilization of righteous behavior, which is anchored in cosmological correspondences.

Our study has suggested that the Enochic traditions envision the measurements that determine the spatial and temporal parameters of the stars as the *halakha* of the law of the stars. Under that assumption, Enoch's own measurement of heavenly phenomena has not only epistemological but also legal significance. By measuring cosmological marvels, Enoch performs nomological rectification, reestablishing the proper parameters of the law of the stars. This praxis is closely tied not only to the restoration of the harmony of creation, disturbed by the Watchers, but also to the restoration of the moral order of humankind since the law of the stars is understood as the standard for human ethics.

3.9.2 Counting Creation

The second chapter of our study demonstrated that in the *Book of the Watchers* Enoch has already become responsible for counting astronomical phenomena. In *1 Enoch* 33:2–3, Enoch claims that he has seen the movements of the stars and also "counted the gates from which they come forth, and … wrote down all their outlets, one by one, according to their number and their names, according to their conjunction and their position and their time and their months."[709] In *1 Enoch* 34–36, the seer appears to count the gates of heaven since he repeatedly mentions their numbers:

> 34:1 And from there I proceeded to the north, at the ends of the earth, and there I saw great and glorious wonders at the ends of the whole earth. 34:2 There *I saw three gates of heaven* open in heaven. From them the winds in the north emerge. When they blow, (there is) cold and hail and hoarfrost and snow and dew and rain. 34:3 Through one gate they blow for good, and when they blow through *two of the gates*, they blow with violence, and there is affliction on the earth. 35:1 From there I proceeded toward the west, at the ends of the earth, and *I saw there three gates of heaven open*, as I saw in the east, *the same number of gates and the same number of outlets*. 36:1 From there I proceeded toward the south, at the ends of the earth, and there *I saw three gates of heaven open*, and from there the south wind and dew and rain emerge. 36:2 From there I proceeded toward the east, at the ends of the earth, and there *I saw three gates of heaven open toward the east and above them, small gates*.

In *1 Enoch* 60:12, Enoch receives information from an angel about "how the winds are divided and how they are weighed, and how the springs of the winds are (divided and) numbered, according to the power of the wind, and the power of the light of the moon, and according to the power of righteousness." A reference to numbering "the springs of the winds" may indicate that the angel teaches the seer how to count them.

In *1 Enoch* 82, Enoch's revelation to Methuselah about right and wrong calendrical practice includes the patriarch's extensive calendrical calculations.[710]

One of the rhetorical questions found in *1 Enoch* 93:14, which scholars believe reflects Enoch's expertise, explicitly mentions "the number of the stars": "And who is there of all men who is able to know the length of the heavens, and what is their height and upon what they are founded? And what is the number of the stars?"[711]

In *2 Enoch* the patriarch's expertise in calculating cosmological realities reaches a new level as Enoch's counting praxis simultaneously encompasses several thematical areas, including astronomical phenomena (counting stars, solar gates, etc.) and calendrical data. Reflecting on the patriarch's calculating efforts in *2 Enoch*, Badalanova Geller points out that Enoch "does not just produce a practical table of calendar reckoning but describes in detail a systematic mathematical scheme of the heavenly bodies and their regular movements. Enoch is thus portrayed as someone able to mastermind numbers, perceived as a mystical projection of the harmony of the macrocosm."[712]

During his heavenly journey, when his angelic guide shows him the solar gates in the fourth heaven, Enoch appears to "count" their number and their dimensions. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 13:1–2 reads, "And those men carried me away to the east (of that heaven). And they showed me the solar gates through which the sun comes out according to the appointment of the seasons and according to the phases of the moon for the entire year, and according to the numbers on the horologe, day and night. And I saw 6 open gates, each gate having 61 stadia and a quarter of a

stadium."[713]

In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:2, Enoch claims that he "has recorded (исписах) the stars and the multitude of multitudes innumerable."[714] According to *2 Enoch* 40:3, the patriarch has written "down all their names."[715] In the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:2, the seers makes an even more bold and unambiguous statement: "I have fully counted the stars, a great multitude innumerable."[716] Enoch's expertise in relation to the stars' names and numbers brings to mind the deity's own proficiency in these matters.

In both the shorter and longer recensions of *2 Enoch* 40:4, Enoch counts the rays of the solar circle: "the solar circle I have measured, and *its rays … I have counted* (лучѧ его исчетох); and its entrances in all the months."[717]

Despite Enoch's stunning self-professed ability to count natural phenomena, *2 Enoch* exhibits traces of a different attitude that seems to contradict Enoch's bold claims. The challenge paradoxically comes from Enoch's own mouth. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 47:3–5, Enoch poses a set of rhetorical questions which strangely cast doubt on the human ability to count some natural phenomena:

> For there is no other besides the Lord, neither in heaven, nor on the earth, nor in the deepest places, nor in the one foundation. The Lord is the one who laid the foundations upon the unknown things, and he is the one who spread out the heavens above the visible and the invisible things. And the earth he solidified above the waters, and the waters he based upon the unfixed things; and he (alone) created the uncountable creatures. And who is it who has counted the dust of the earth or the sand of the sea or the drops of rain or the dew (of the clouds) or the blowing of the wind?[718]

This passage raises the question of who can count "the dust of the earth or the sand of the sea or the drops of rain or the dew (of the clouds) or the blowing of the wind?" Although *2 Enoch* does not claim that Enoch has counted the dust of the earth, the sand of the sea, the drops of rain, or the dew, the reference to the wind is noteworthy since the patriarch's observations of the "winds" play a prominent role in early Enochic materials.[719] It is not entirely clear if the purpose of these questions is similar to the *Epistle of Enoch*, that is, to solidify the protagonist's unique epistemological profile, or whether these inquiries have a polemical purpose, aiming to defend the book's monotheism by limiting Enoch's inflated demiurgical profile, which puts him dangerously close to the deity.

One of the places where one encounters a "demiurgical" identity in Enoch is *2 Enoch* 40, which attests to the patriarch's comprehensive command of calendrical calculations. The chapter creates the impression that Enoch does not merely learn and record calendrical correspondences – as he did under Uriel's guidance in the *Astronomical Book* – but, in fact, "establishes" them himself. According to the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:6, Enoch appointed (положих) 4 seasons, and from the seasons he created (сътворих) 4 cycles, and in the cycles he appointed (положих) the year and the months, and from the months he counted (расчетох) days, and from the days he measured off the hours, and he counted (исчетох) the hours and wrote them down.[720] Commenting on this bold claim of the protagonist, Francis Andersen points out that this statement "would be more appropriate in the mouth of the Creator."[721]

In the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 43:1, Enoch again claims that he has "put together" (сложих)[722] the calendar:[723]

> I have arranged the whole year. And from the year I put together (сложих) the months, and from the months I have ticked off (разочтох) the days, and from the day I have ticked off (разочтох) the hours. I, I have measured and noted the hours. And I have distinguished every seed on the earth, and every measure and every righteous scale. I have measured and recorded them.[724]

A similar tradition of calendrical "establishments" is attested in *Merilo Pravednoe*, where Enoch combines a whole year and the hours of the day (и лѣто все складохъ и часи дньнии и часы размѣрихъ).[725] The previous examples create the impression that Enoch himself can divide and arrange temporal units in a manner similar to the deity, who, in Genesis 1, establishes the days of

creation.

Proper calendrical correspondences are regarded by *2 Enoch*'s authors as realities that secure the wellbeing of the entire creation, ordering and synchronizing various aspects of creation into a harmonious whole. The text suggests that all creation would disintegrate without the calendrical grid. In fact, *2 Enoch* describes the collapse of creation by claiming that in the eschaton, years, months, days, and hours will cease to exist and "will no longer be counted." The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 65:6–7 mentions the day of great judgment when "the time periods will perish, and there will be neither years nor months nor days, and hours will no longer be counted; but they will constitute a single age."[726] The phrase, "will no longer be counted," is important since it points to the process of "counting" as the pivotal method for ordering and sustaining God's creation. Significantly, *2 Enoch* 65 ties the abolishment of the "law of the stars," expressed in the calendrical calculations, with the obliteration of human ethics because, similar to the cosmological phenomena, which will converge into a single age, humankind will also "be collected together into the great age" and "after that there will be among them neither weariness nor sickness nor affliction nor worry nor want nor debilitation nor night nor darkness."[727] Here again, one can see a close correspondence between the demise of the cosmological law and the end of the previously established order of human society.

3.9.3 Weighing and Balancing Creation

Already in the *Book of the Similitudes*, Enoch beholds how cosmological realities are "weighed in the balance."[728] In *1 Enoch* 43, the patriarch sees the astronomical phenomena being weighed "according to their light, according to the breadth of their spaces and the day of their appearing." These correspondences are defined in *1 Enoch* 43:1–2 as "a righteous balance":

> And I saw other lightnings and stars of heaven; and I saw that he called them by their names, and they listened to him. I saw a righteous balance (መዳልው፡ ጽድቅ፡), how they are weighed according to their light, according to the breadth of their spaces and the day of their appearing. (I saw how) their revolution produces lightning, and their revolution is according to the number of the angels, and they keep their faith with one another.[729]

The imagery of a scale for measuring heavenly phenomena is also found in *1 Enoch* 60:12 when Enoch sees "how the winds are divided and how they are weighed."[730] Furthermore, according to the *Book of the Similitudes*, both cosmological realities and the actions of human beings can be assessed in a balance.[731] One encounters this procedure in *1 Enoch* 41:1 when the seer beholds "how the kingdom is divided, and how human deeds are weighed in the balance (በመዳልው፡ ይደለው፡)."[732] The same idea is reiterated in *1 Enoch* 61:8 when Enoch receives a revelation about the eschatological judge who will weigh human deeds in the balance.[733]

Scholars have previously noted that the balancing symbolism in the *Book of the Similitudes* has apparent roots in biblical and extrabiblical traditions that portray both human actions and cosmological realities as weighed.[734] Several biblical passages attest to the motif of weighing on a scale, including Job 31:6,[735] Prov 16:2,[736] 16:11,[737] 21:2,[738] 24:12,[739] Ps 62:9,[740] Isa 40:12,[741] and Dan 5:27.[742] Scholars often see these biblical traditions, especially Job 31:6, as possible background for the imagery found in the *Book of the Similitudes*.

Jewish pseudepigraphical writings are also cognizant of the weighing motif.

One instance of weighing in a balance can be found in *4 Ezra* 3:34, which contains the command: "Now, therefore, weigh in a balance our iniquities and those of the inhabitants of the world; and so it will be found which way the turn of the scale will incline."[743] *2 Bar.* 41:6 demonstrates the tradition by reminding its readers that "their time will surely not be weighed exactly, and they will certainly not be judged as the scale indicates?"[744] *4 Ezra* 4:5 speaks about the balancing of some cosmological and natural elements when the protagonist receives the following order: "Go, weigh for me the weight of fire, or measure for me a measure of wind, or call back for me the day that is past."[745]

In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* 8:5, its hero relays to his children the details of the eschatological trial, which will involve weighing "the good and the evil": "Now, moreover, my sons, this is the trial

because it is necessary that the good and the evil be weighed in a balance."[746] Chapter 12 of the long recension of the *Testament of Abraham* also represents the tradition when it depicts a heavenly judgment scene, during which human souls are weighed in a balance:

> 12:9 In front of the table sat a glorious angel holding a scale in his hand. 12:10 On his left sat a fiery angel, altogether merciless and relentless, holding in his hand a trumpet, which contained an all-consuming fire that tests sinners. 12:11 And the marvelous man, sitting on his throne, judged and declared a verdict upon the souls. 12:12 The two angels on the right and the left were making a written register. The one on the right recorded upright deeds and the one on the left recorded sins. 12:13 And the one in front of the table, the one holding the scale, weighed the souls. 12:14. And the fiery angel, the one holding the fire, tested the souls with fire.[747]

Ps. Sol. 5:4 also alludes to the motif: "For an individual and his fate (are) on the scales before you; he cannot add any increase contrary to your judgment, O God."[748]

Later Jewish rabbinical and mystical accounts also contain traditions about various measuring procedures for assessing human deeds. Thus, for example, the Mishnah's *Pirkei Avot* 2:8 explains how the deeds of one person outweigh deeds of others.[749] A passage from *y. Qidd.* 1:10 reports that "in this world, even if 999 angels plead for his conviction and one angel pleads for his acquittal, the Holy One, praise to Him, lends His weight to the scale of merit."[750] *Eccl. Rab.* 10:1 speaks about "the scale of guilt."[751] *Pesiqta de Rav Kahana* 25 offers a portrayal of the deity operating the eschatological scales: "R. Eleazar said: 'When both pans of the scale of justice balance exactly, a man's iniquitous deeds on one side and his good deeds on the other, the Holy One lifts out from the pan of iniquities one of the writs attesting the man's guilt, so that the good deeds [in the other pan] tip the balance.'"[752] *Zohar* II.95b, in its turn, offers a depiction of the cosmic scales balancing between the "weights of righteousness" and the "weights of deception."[753]

The imagery of scales for the weighing of cosmological phenomena and human deeds occurs forcefully in *2 Enoch*, wherein one can find several references to heavenly and eschatological measurements performed with the help of a weighing balance. *2 Enoch* surpasses the *Book of the Similitudes*, introducing several technical terms that describe the weighing and balancing processes. One of these terms is the Slavonic word мѣра (*měra*),[754] which can be translated as "balance" or "measure."[755] The second term is ставило (*stavilo*),[756] which can be rendered as "scales."[757] The third term is привесы (*privesy*),[758] which can be translated as "balance" or "makeweights."[759] The three words are semantically very close to each other. Yet, the presence of all three of them together in several passages suggests that each has a special technical meaning in the mind of *2 Enoch*'s authors.[760]

2 Enoch 40 develops the motif of weighing and balancing when the seer encounters angelic custodians of the winds who carry "scales and measures" (Slav. привесы и мѣры).[761] In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:11, the seer reports, "I wrote down the sleeping chambers of the winds, and I observed and I saw how their custodians carry scales and measures (привесы и мѣры). And first they place them in the scales, and secondly in the measure, and it is by measure that they release them skillfully into all the earth, lest the earth should be rocked by violent gusts."[762]

As one remembers, in *1 Enoch* 60:12, the patriarch also witnesses the balancing of the winds as he beholds "how the winds are divided and how they are weighed … according to the power of righteousness."[763] Yet, unlike the *Similitudes*, *2 Enoch* not only mentions the balancing of meteorological incidents but also describes in detail the weighing procedures performed by their angelic custodians. The description makes clear that the purpose of the angelic scales is to safeguard the functioning of creation and, more specifically, to prevent the winds from rocking the earth with their violent gusts.

Furthermore, unlike in the *Book of the Similitudes* where Enoch only beholds the righteous balance, in *2 Enoch* the hero engages with this mysterious entity. The text describes his engagement as "distinguishing" (разнествовахъ)[764] every measure and every righteous scale (привесу праведну). The phrase, "I have distinguished … every measure," possibly signifies that the protagonist has access to several "scales." It may also envision him as the operator of the measuring instruments. In the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 43:1, Enoch claims, "And I have distinguished every seed on the earth,

and every measure and every righteous scale. I, I have measured and recorded them (и разнествовахъ всяку мѣру, и всяку привесу праведну аз измѣрих, и исписахъ)."[765] One can see that the adept not only "distinguishes" phenomena ("every seed on the earth") but also "measures" the righteous balance itself. This action is articulated even more clearly in the fragment of *2 Enoch* from the collection *Merilo Pravednoe*: "And I compared every measure and the just balance I measured (всяку мѣру и превѣсу праведну измѣрихъ)."[766]

The Slavonic expression, "мѣра праведна," found in this passage, which in Andersen's translation is rendered as "righteous scale," can also be translated as "righteous balance" or "balance of righteousness." The expression demonstrates a close affinity with the terminology found in the *Book of the Similitudes*.[767]

Furthermore, in *2 Enoch*, like in some biblical and pseudepigraphical accounts, including the *Book of the Similitudes*, the weighing and balancing procedures are used both for cosmological phenomena and human deeds. A few verses after its appearance in *2 Enoch* 43:1, the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 44:5 uses "the righteous balance" (мѣра праведна) in relation to the human moral condition: ""Happy is he whose *measure* [is] *just* (мѣра праведна) and whose *weight* [is] *just* (ставило праведно) and *scales* [are] just (превесы праведны)! Because on the day of the great judgment every *measure* (мѣра) and every *weight* (ставило) and every *scale* (привеса) will be exposed as in the market; and each one will recognize his *measure* (мѣра), and, according to it, each shall receive his reward."[768] One can see that this passage applies the language of "righteousness" not only to the term *měra* but also to other elements of the eschatological weighing, speaking about the righteous *stavilo* and the righteous *privesy*. It again points to the greater complexity of *2 Enoch*'s balancing imagery in comparison with the *Similitudes* since it operates with several additional elements in its description of the weighing and balancing processes.

Enoch's detailed knowledge of the eschatological weighing routines may suggest that he himself will participate in these rituals at the end of time. His role as the witness of the divine judgment is well established in early and late Enochic accounts[769] where Enoch-Metatron will document human sins[770] and merits,[771] establishing records that will be used during the eschatological trial.

Early pseudepigraphical accounts also communicate the eschatological duty of the seventh antediluvian hero. The short recension of the *Testament of Abraham*[772] depicts Enoch as one who weighs human souls at the Last Judgment:[773]

> 11:1 And Abraham answered and said to Michael, "Lord, who is this judge? And who is the other one, who makes sins known?" 11:2 And Michael said to Abraham, "Do you see the judge? He is Abel, the first martyr. And he was brought unto this place in order to judge. 11:3 This (other) one, who makes (sins) known, is Enoch, your father. He is the teacher of heaven and scribe of righteousness. 11:4 And the Lord sent him here that the sins and the righteous deeds of each might be inscribed." 11:5 And Abraham said to Michael, "How is Enoch able to weigh the lot of souls (δύναται Ἐνὼχ βαστάσαι τὸ μέρος τῶν ψυχῶν), since he has not seen death? Or is he able to pass sentence upon every soul?" 11:6 And Michael said, "If the sentence were contrary to the written decision, it would not be agreed to. Yet Enoch does not pass judgment of himself. 11:7 Rather the Lord is the one who passes sentence, and Enoch is the one who records. 11:8 For Enoch prayed to the Lord saying, 'I do not wish to pass sentence upon a soul lest I become oppressive to someone.' 11:9 And the Lord said to Enoch, 'I will give a signal to you, that you should record the sins of a soul in the book. 11:10 And if that soul receives mercy, you will find that its sins have been erased and that it will enter into life. 11:11 But if a soul does not find mercy, you will find its sins inscribed, and it will be cast into chastisement.'"[774]

Abraham's question "How is Enoch able to weigh the lot of souls" found in this excerpt links the patriarch with eschatological weighing routines, possibly, as their performer. Furthermore, the *Testament of Abraham*'s passage appears to connect Enoch's prominent role as the scribe of human sins and merits to the act of weighing and balancing of human souls. In this conceptual framework, Enoch's creation of a record of human soul's deeds operates as an act that changes the "weight" of the human soul. Enoch's role as the scribe of human sins and merits, thus, represents an essential part of the weighing and balancing routines.

Furthermore, considering Enoch's dual role as scribe and weigher, a book with records of the

souls' deeds may be envisioned as a balancing device in itself. *2 Enoch* demonstrates such an understanding of a written record as a scale when, in the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 52:13–15, Enoch utters, "Happy is he who speaks peace, and he possesses peace. Cursed is he who speaks peace, but there is no peace in his heart. All this will make itself known *in the scales in the books* (въ мерилѣ въ книгахъ) on the great judgment day."[775] The scales are located in the books. It is possible that the book's records function as elements of the balancing process, the measuring device's weights.

In *2 Enoch* 49 the theme of the balancing ordeal, which each soul will face, appears again. In this occurrence, the weighing determines how long each person will live in the world. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 49:2, the seer conveys the words of the deity: "Even before any person was in his mother's womb, individually a place I prepared for each soul, as well as a set of scales and a measurement of how long he intends him to live in this world, so that each person may be investigated with it."[776] The passage may allude to "a wider notion, namely that God metes out to every human being a measured predestined portion,"[777] a concept that one finds in other early Jewish accounts, including the Qumran materials.[778]

In *2 Enoch* the measuring of human merits and sins is closely tied to cosmological measurements. One encounters the connection in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 65:3–4:

> And the Lord set everything forth for the sake of man, and he created the whole of creation for his sake. And he divided it into times: And from time and from the years and from the months and from the days and in those and the hours he established years; he settled months; he settled days; he settled 7; he settled the hours; he measured exactly, so that a person might think about time, and so that he might count the years and the months and the days and the hours and the perturbations and the beginnings and the endings, and that he might keep count of his own life from the beginning unto death, and think of his sins, and so that he might write his own achievement, both evil and good.[779]

As in other early Enochic accounts, God's creation, which is carefully measured and divided, serves as a pattern in this passage for ordering of moral behavior.[780] Reflecting on the passage, Hahne points out that "the regularity of the cycles of the natural world should remind people that their life will come to an end in its normal cycle and that they will be accountable for their deeds when they face the Judgment."[781]

2 Enoch 65:3–4 affirms a consistent motif in the text by applying the symbolism of measuring to two distinctive subjects: cosmological phenomena and the moral state of humankind. Reflecting on the parallelism in Enoch's measuring routines, Kister notes that in *2 Enoch*, "Enoch is described … as having complete knowledge of astronomy and as recording human deeds. … two aspects of Enoch's knowledge are in fact one: the knowledge of the divine measurements is applicable to both cosmic order and human affairs."[782]

3.9.4 Liturgical Balancing of Creation

2 Enoch's authors appear to understand angelic liturgies as routines that are able to balance God's creation.[783] The idea is most plainly articulated in *2 Enoch* 19, which reads, "When they [the angelic guardians of creation] see any evil activity, they put the commandments and instructions in order, and the sweet choral singing and every kind of glorious praise. These are the archangels who are over the angels; and they harmonize all existence, heavenly and earthly."[784] In this passage, the archangels are able to remedy "any evil activity" with liturgical praise and "choral singing." The conception of the mitigation of the world's disharmony by liturgical action is not an invention of *2 Enoch*'s authors. Scholars have previously suggested that in the Enochic tradition human and angelic liturgies are synchronized with cosmological phenomena through calendrical correspondences. Jackson argues that "the regulation of the calendar was seen, in the worldview of the Enochic tradition, as primarily designed to regulate the worship of the Lord. By this means the worship of men and angels, and of the spirits of all the phenomena relating to times and seasons, would be synchronized."[785]

In light of the understanding of liturgy as a tool for creation's harmonization, *2 Enoch* appropriately shows the patriarch applying various strategies to heal creation, including liturgy. In *2*

Enoch, the patriarch's actions are unambiguously linked to the negative effect of the fallen Watchers' rebellion, involving their "brethren" in the fifth heaven. Enoch encounters the "brethren" during his celestial journey. He discovers that, while mourning the imprisonment of their rebellious brothers in the second heaven, these "good" Watchers abandoned their angelic duties. Learning this, Enoch encourages the Watchers to resume their liturgical responsibilities. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:8–9 relates:

> And I [Enoch] said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up your liturgy and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord to the limit." And they responded to my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Watchers burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.

Enoch's role as an angelic choirmaster is not attested in other early Enochic documents,[786] but it receives a rich afterlife in later Jewish mystical accounts where Enoch-Metatron conducts angelic liturgies before the Throne of God.[787] Yet, Enoch's sacerdotal duties do not spring forth from the imagination of *2 Enoch*'s authors. They evoke memories of earlier traditions of Enoch's journey to the heavenly temple in *1 Enoch* 14. In light of traditions found in *2 Enoch*, it is possible that Enoch's journey to the celestial sanctuary in the *Book of the Watchers* may also represent an important step in his task to harmonize the heavenly and earthly realities violated by the fallen Watchers. By attending to the heavenly temple as its new angelic servant, Enoch supplants the Watchers who abandoned their stations in the heavenly liturgy after their descent. *2 Enoch* illuminates the symmetry of the sacerdotal servants, past and present, by Enoch's connection with the liturgies of the good Watchers.

Enoch's plea to the good Watchers to restart their liturgies serves as another example of the patriarch's restorative efforts in *2 Enoch*. He returns a remnant of the rogue angelic group to their regular liturgical duties. Although *2 Enoch* makes a distinction between the real rebels, who are now imprisoned in the second heaven, and their "brethren," situated in the fifth heaven, the return of the rest of the rebellious group to their normal liturgical routines represents an important step in the restoration of the previously violated cosmological arrangements.

Through its elaboration of the Watchers' liturgical duties, *2 Enoch* attests to an additional dimension of the fallen Watchers' corrupting activities, which has not been fully articulated, but only hinted at, in other early Enochic books. Although it depicts Enoch's ascent to the heavenly temple as an attempt to mitigate the fallen Watchers' abandonment of the holy locale, the *Book of the Watchers* does not fully elaborate on the scope of the fallen angels' liturgical duties. In *2 Enoch*, however, the motif is more thoroughly explored.

3.9.5 Recording Creation

In *2 Enoch*, the seer not only measures, counts, weighs, and balances creation, but also records it.[788] Enoch's scribal duties are not an innovation of *2 Enoch*'s authors, being attested in *1 Enoch* and in other early extrabiblical accounts.[789] VanderKam points out that the earliest Enochic booklet, the *Astronomical Book*, not only expands several traits of the patriarch which are only briefly mentioned in Genesis 5, but also assigns to him the role of a writer of angelic discourses.[790] In *1 Enoch* 74:2, the patriarch records Uriel's instructions regarding the secrets of the heavenly luminaries and their movements: "All this Uriel the holy angel who is the leader of them all showed me. Their positions I wrote down as he showed me and I wrote down their months as they were and the appearance of their light until fifteen days were completed."[791]

Later in the *Astronomical Book* (*1 Enoch* 81:6), Uriel advises the patriarch to write down the heavenly knowledge so that he can share it with his children during his upcoming visitation to the earth.[792] The patriarch's records from heaven, therefore, play an important role in the transmission of celestial secrets to humans generally and, in particular, to the patriarch's son Methuselah. One encounters this motif in *1 Enoch* 82:1 when Enoch assures his son that he has written a book for him: "Now my son Methuselah, I am telling you all these things and am writing (them) down. I have

revealed all of them to you and have given you the books about all these things. My son, keep the book written by your father so that you may give (it) to the generations of the world."[793]

Another early Enochic booklet, the *Book of the Watchers*, is also cognizant of Enoch's scribal duties. Although in *1 Enoch* 12:3 the patriarch modestly refers to himself as a scribe, in *1 Enoch* 12:4 and 15:11 he is identified with the honorific "scribe of righteousness," which, according to Milik, can be related to the Aramaic term [794].ספר קושטא In *1 Enoch* 12:3–4 angels address the patriarch as "scribe of righteousness":

> 12:3 I, Enoch, was standing, blessing the Lord of majesty, the King of the ages. And look, the watchers of the Great Holy One called me, Enoch the scribe (ጸሓፌ), and said to me, 12:4 "Enoch, righteous scribe (ጸሐፌ፡ ጽድቅ፡ /ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης), go and say to the watchers of heaven – who forsook the highest heaven, the sanctuary of the(ir) eternal station, and defiled themselves with women. As the sons of earth do, so they did and took wives for themselves. And they worked great desolation on the earth – 12:5 'You will have no peace or forgiveness.'"[795]

Chapter 13 of *1 Enoch* portrays the patriarch as the one who delivers the message of oncoming judgment for Asael and the other rebellious Watchers. The terrified Watchers solicit the patriarch's assistance in writing a petition to God to request forgiveness. With Enoch's help, the petition is prepared. During its reading, the patriarch falls into a mantic dream where he sees a vision of wrath. *1 Enoch* 14, subsequently, emphasizes that the Watchers' petition will not be granted, and they will be bound in the earth for all the days of eternity. Enoch then travels to the throne of God where the deity himself addresses him as "righteous man" and "scribe of righteousness," telling the patriarch the truth about the sins of the rebellious angels: "But he answered and said to me – and I heard his voice – 'Fear not, Enoch, righteous man and scribe of righteousness (ጸሐፌ፡ ጽድቅ፡); come here, and hear my voice'" (*1 Enoch* 15:1).[796]

It is significant that the title "scribe of righteousness" appears in a narrative section that deals with the group of fallen Watchers and the righteous human destined to act as a mediator between them and God. It is quite possible that the title, "scribe of righteousness," reflects not only the role of the elevated Enoch as a scribe, but his other roles, such as a righteous person and an expert in the "secrets of righteousness." Christine Schams observes that the title, "scribe of righteousness," suggests that "Enoch was not regarded as a mere professional writer."[797] In her opinion, the title might be used "in conjunction with other attributes of the person. Most likely, Enoch's expertise in writing and reading and his reputation as a righteous man, that is his teaching and knowledge of righteousness and God's righteous judgment, were combined in his composite title of 'scribe of righteousness.'"[798]

The composite nature of the epithet, "scribe of righteousness," can be further illuminated by referring to the short recension of the *Testament of Abraham*, which contains a notable description of Enoch:

> 11:2 And Michael said to Abraham, "Do you see the judge? He is Abel, the first martyr. And he was brought unto this place in order to judge. 11:3 This (other) one, who makes (sins) known, is Enoch, your father. He is the teacher of heaven and scribe of righteousness (οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς δικαιοσύνης). 11:4 And the Lord sent him here that the sins and the righteous deeds of each might be inscribed."[799]

It is intriguing that the *Testament of Abraham* connects the scribal title to Enoch's role as the teacher of heaven (διδάσκαλος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).[800] The connection emphasizes the validity of the patriarch's teaching not only for the citizens of earth but also for the inhabitants of heaven, i.e., angels. It may also suggest that his scribal title is applicable not merely to human righteousness and iniquity but also to the righteousness and transgression of the angelic guardians responsible for the proper functioning of heavenly bodies. Indeed, it is conceivable that Enoch's title, "scribe of righteousness," underlines not only Enoch's scribal role but his "ordering" role in relation to both human righteousness and the "righteousness" of cosmological phenomena. Reflecting on the developments

found in the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, Helge Kvanvig points out that "there is also a justice, *qušṭa*, prescribed for both humans and the heavenly bodies to keep the world in correct order."[801]

Enoch's scribal prowess is also reflected in the *Similitudes*' tradition about the angel Pēnēmue, who, according to *1 Enoch* 69:8–11, "gave humans knowledge about writing with ink and papyrus, and therefore many went astray from of old and forever and until this day."[802] This tradition has often puzzled experts familiar with Enoch's positive scribal profile. Yet, in the framework of the Enochic tradition, in which the illicit revelations of the fallen angels repeatedly mirror the similar but ultimately restorative disclosures to the seventh patriarch, Pēnēmue's instructions do not appear unusual.

Enoch's scribal functions persist into later Jewish materials. Enoch-Metatron's scribal praxis occupies a prominent place in the later rabbinic traditions where, according to *b. Hag*. 15a, the privilege of sitting beside God was accorded to Metatron alone by virtue of his role as a scribe. He was granted permission as a scribe to sit and write down the merits of Israel. Relatedly, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Gen 5:24 describes Metatron as the Great Scribe (סִפְרָא רַבָּא).[803]

One can see that the early accounts of Enoch's recording activities found in the *Book of the Watchers*, in which he records the Watchers' petition to God and brings them the deity's response, illustrate the pattern of his scribal mission: to mediate and communicate between various levels of God's creation, transferring and sharing divine knowledge that can restore order and harmony. The purpose of Enoch's recording routines is not to compose entertaining stories for public amusement. He does not create a product from his own imagination, rather, he transmits the knowledge of others. He sometimes shares the words of the fallen Watchers, but he mainly works with the knowledge that he receives from God and the good angels during his otherworldly journeys. Clearly, Enoch is envisioned as a scribal mediator, one who uses knowledge for the rectification of creation. The idea that Enoch's writings will bring harmony and righteousness to humankind is a leitmotif in the earliest Enochic booklets. *2 Enoch* continues its use, adding novel details.

One of the distinctive features of *2 Enoch*'s testimonies about the patriarch's scribal functions is the amount of attention paid to these duties. While *1 Enoch*'s booklets mention these duties only occasionally, *2 Enoch*, especially in chapter 40, where the seer retells to his children some details of his celestial trip, plays up the paramount role of the scribal duties. In *2 Enoch* 40, the patriarch offers an unprecedented catalogue of the subjects that he had recorded during his celestial tour. But even the earlier chapters of the apocalypse, which unveil Enoch's initiation into the scribal office by the angel Vereveil, supply various details absent in the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers*. In *2 Enoch* one learns more than the precise number of the books produced by the seer. One also learns about the characteristics of his scribal tools and even details of the heavenly books' external appearance. All these features suggest that the scribal activities of the patriarch play an essential role in the ideology underlying *2 Enoch*.

Enoch's scribal profile reaches its symbolic threshold in chapter 40 where one encounters a large list of various subjects recorded by the hero. At the very beginning of his discourse, the patriarch assures his audience about the comprehensiveness of not only his knowledge, but also his writing efforts. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:2, Enoch utters the following words: "I know everything, and everything I have written down (написах) in books, the heavens and their boundaries and their contents."[804] The references to "the heavens, their boundaries, and their contents" allude to the topological "map" of Enoch's knowledge, which includes astronomical, meteorological, geographical, and calendrical mysteries, which have been arranged in the structured heavenly space. The subjects recall the structure of heavenly knowledge revealed to Enoch by Vereveil, in which cosmological and, especially, astronomical knowledge play a central role.

In *2 Enoch* 40:2–3, Enoch starts the description of his recording of astronomical subjects, mentioning that he has "recorded" stars and "have written down all their names."[805] In *2 Enoch* 40:4, the seer shares about his writing down the sun's movements and its gates.[806] In the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:5, Enoch tells that he has measured the lunar circle and its daily movements and written down their names.[807] In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:6, he mentions recording calendrical correspondences.[808] In *2 Enoch* 40:7 he boasts that he has written down "everything what is nourished on the earth."[809]

In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:9, one learns that Enoch "wrote down (написах) the rumble of the thunder and the lightening."[810] The next verse of the longer recension claims that he "wrote

down (написах) the treasuries (скровища) of the snow and the storehouses (хранилища) of the cold and the frosty winds."[811] According to *2 Enoch* 40:11, Enoch "wrote down (написах) the sleeping chambers (ложници) of the winds and I saw how their custodians carry scales and measures."[812] The references to "chambers" (Slav. ложници), "treasuries" (Slav. сокровища), and "storehouses" (Slav. хранилища) of meteorological phenomena is reminiscent of terminology found in other Enochic booklets, especially, in the *Book of the Similitudes*, which, according to some scholars, may refer to heavenly secrets.[813] According to the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:12, Enoch "wrote down (написах) the height from the earth to the seventh heaven, and the depth to the lowermost hell, and the place of condemnation, and the supremely large hell, open and weeping."[814]

Finally, in *2 Enoch* 40:13, Enoch reports that he "saw how the prisoners were in pain, looking forward to endless punishment,"[815] and he "recorded all those who have been condemned by the judge, and all their sentences and all their corresponding deeds."[816] One can see that, beyond recording the cosmological state of creation, Enoch records the moral state of creatures. The recording of the moral condition of creatures evokes the unusual function of the heavenly books as scales to balance the evil and good deeds of a given person. The motif occurs in chapter 12 of the long recension of the *Testament of Abraham*:

> 12:16 And behold! the angel holding the soul in its hand brought it before the judge. 12:17 And the judge said to one of the angels serving him, "Open for me this book, and find for me the sins of this soul." 12:18 And opening the book he found the balance of its sins and of its upright deeds to be equal. He neither gave it over to the torturers nor (did he set it) among the saved, but he placed it in the middle.[817]

Reflecting on this passage, Dale Allison points out that "the book, not the scale, indicates that the 'balance' of 'sins' … and 'good deeds' … is identical … . It would seem that the book makes the scales redundant."[818] Nickelsburg, in his turn, suggests that "perhaps the author intends to say that the two angels copy out the record of the sins and righteous deeds and lay the two sheets in the two pans of the balance. A less likely explanation is that the angels' records are entered as loose leaves into the book and are taken out and weighed at the time of judgment."[819]

The motif of the eschatological balancing of a person's sins and merits via books points to a broader significance of Enoch's writing as a praxis that harmonizes and balances God's creation. Consequently, in his scribal efforts, Enoch creates a track record of deviations and conformity not only for human beings but also for cosmological entities as he records their times, locations, and movements. The balancing dimension of Enoch's scribal practice appears to be reaffirmed in other parts of the apocalypse. Thus, *2 Enoch* 19 postulates that the angels who are responsible for maintaining the harmony of God's creation do so, in part, through keeping records.[820]

3.10 Enoch's Lost Appetite

2 Enoch may envision Enoch's instructions to his children, which contains legal terminology pertaining both to cosmological laws[821] and to moral commandments,[822] as a set of rules intended to mitigate the Watchers' antinomian teaching and praxis. *1 Enoch*'s booklets graphically illustrate the antinomian nature of the fallen angels' instruction through the depiction of the nefarious deeds of their offspring – the Giants. *1 Enoch* 10:7 tells that the Watchers taught their sons "mystery." It is possible that, through these illicit teachings, the Watchers attempted to instill in their heirs an alternative moral code, subverting the divine law and order. The Giants' transgressions cause an ecological disaster, which affects all living creatures on earth, including humans. Matthew Goff notes that the consumption of the Giants threatened not only humankind but the entire natural order.[823] While the Giants' actions lead to the victimization of God's creatures, some of Enoch's commandments in *2 Enoch* appear intended to mitigate the impact of the Watchers' actions which abuse the earth's inhabitants. Appropriately, in *2 Enoch* the patriarch devotes significant attention to specific rules prohibiting the abuse of animals. In the beginning of his protracted instructions on this subject, Enoch offers an extensive background for the relevant commandments by evoking the protoplast's story.

Enoch reminds his sons that, after the world's creation, God made Adam a steward of all animals. According to Enoch, because of Adam's stewardship, "the Lord will not judge a single animal soul for the sake of man; but human souls he will judge for the sake of the souls of their animals."[824] Furthermore, in chapters 58 and 59, Enoch offers detailed instructions to his children on how to properly slaughter animals for consumption and sacrifice. These traditions are attested in both recensions of *2 Enoch*.

The extensive focus on animal welfare[825] has long puzzled scholars of *2 Enoch*, who have tried to establish reasons for such a pronounced interest in the "humane" treatment of animals.[826] Often these studies have attempted to interpret Enoch's animal rules through the lenses of sectarian sacrificial practices.[827] Yet, it is possible that another explanation for these peculiar rules can be found in the aforementioned story of the Giants' mistreatment of animals.

The abuse of animals and other living creatures is a hallmark of the Giants destructive behavior. Thus, according to the Ethiopic version of *1 Enoch* 7:5–6, the Giants "began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish, and to devour one another's flesh. And they drank the blood. Then the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones."[828]

It is possible that the reference to the Giants' consumption of blood in the passage has cultic significance[829] since they consume animals and other creatures without the proper rituals for blood removal.[830] Goff suggests that

> this "dread of blood" evident in early Jewish literature, shaped by the view that the נפש resides in the blood, operates in the *Book of the Watchers*, even though the word is never explicit in the text. … The *Book of the Watchers* provides an answer as to why Genesis 9 bans the consumption of blood – it is one of the heinous crimes that the giants committed before the flood. Since the *Book of the Watchers* assumes that ingesting blood is a deplorable act, this presumably reflects some understanding of the treatment of blood in biblical law. To comprehend the perspective in the *Book of the Watchers* it is important to understand the blood as the seat of the נפש. Drinking it is not simply a social taboo nor is its ingestion just a heinous act that accompanies murder. It is a violation of the natural order established by God and thus constitutes a challenge against his dominion.[831]

In *2 Enoch*, Enoch devotes a considerable amount of attention to the commandments dealing with the proper preparation of animals for consumption. Although previous studies have often seen in these regulations references to sacrificial rites, some of these passages clearly indicate that the animals were intended to be consumed as food. We find such references, for example, in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 59:3, which tells that "Everything that has been given to you *for food* (на брашно), bind by four legs, so as to perform the healing properly."[832] Enoch specifically mentions that the proper ritual must be applied to the creatures predestined *for food* rather than for sacrifice.

Relatedly, Enoch's instruction may contain allusions to the ritual of blood removal, the violation of which plays an important role in the description of the Giants' transgressions. In the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 59:1, Enoch utters the following commandment, "He who acts lawlessly with the *soul* of an animal acts lawlessly with his own soul."[833] Paradoxically, in this passage, it is not the body but the soul of an animal that is described as a target of human abuse. But how can a human being "act lawlessly" towards an animal's soul? The answer to this question can be found in Jewish blood rituals.

It is well known that in the Jewish sacrificial tradition an animal's soul is associated with its blood.[834] One sees the association in Lev 17:14 where a creature's soul, *nefesh*,[835] is identified with its blood: "For the life (נפש) of every creature – its blood is its life; therefore I have said to the people of Israel: You shall not eat the blood of any creature, for the life of every creature is its blood; whoever eats it shall be cut off."

Another important feature of *2 Enoch* 59:1 is the curious correlation of the mistreatment of the "soul of an animal" to the harming of a human soul. The correlation further clarifies the sacerdotal context of Enoch's commandment,[836] showing that the violation of the blood removal ritual and the ingesting of blood inevitably leads to the pollution of a human soul.[837] The aspect is underlined in Charles and Forbes' translation when they render the Slavonic verb безаконит[838] in *2 Enoch* 59:1 as "he *defiles* his own soul."[839]

In light of these traditions, it is possible that the expression, "dealing lawlessly with the soul of an

animal," means ignoring the regulations concerning the animal's blood. The possibility that the soul of an animal is related to its blood is reinforced by the ritualistic and sacrificial context of Enoch's instructions, which includes references to the rules for tying an animal's legs, etc.

The connection between an animal's soul and blood becomes even more evident in the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 58:6 where Enoch warns his children that mistreated animal souls will accuse humans before the deity: "For the souls of the animals which the Lord has created will not be excluded until the judgment. And all those souls will accuse (man)."[840] This tradition is reminiscent of Gen 4:10–11 where Abel's blood cries from the ground, provoking the deity's response.[841]

The motif of mistreated animal souls accusing their abusers before the deity found in *2 Enoch* 58 can be seen as an important link with the Giants' story. The earth's accusation against the Giants occupies a prominent place in the *Book of the Watchers*. It initiates the deity's response to the Watchers and the Giants' transgressions on earth and eventually leads to their punishment. For our study, it is important that in *1 Enoch* 7:5–6 this motif of the earth's accusations follows immediately after the description of the Giants' sins against the earth's creatures, including animals: "And they began to sin against the birds and beasts and creeping things and the fish, and to devour one another's flesh. And they drank the blood. Then the earth brought accusation against the lawless ones."[842] Furthermore, like in *2 Enoch*, these accusations appear to be connected with violations of the blood removal ritual. Goff suggests that "it is possible that it is not the earth *per se* making the accusation but rather the 'souls' of the victims that have been spilled on the land. In the *Book of the Watchers* there is a connection between the cries of the victims and the spilled blood."[843] Goff's reflection is important for our study since *2 Enoch* 58:6 specifically mentions the accusations of the animals' souls, which will testify before God against the human beings who have mistreated them.[844]

Another important feature of *2 Enoch* that may pertain to the Giants' traditions is a motif of Enoch's lost appetite, which precedes his warning about the mistreatments of animals. This theme is attested in both recensions. Goff's study underlines the Giants' voracious appetite as the emblematic feature of their story. He notes that the Aramaic and the Greek versions of *1 Enoch* 7:3–5 "both emphasize one important point: the giants' appetite is the key factor motivating their destructive activities."[845]

The theme of appetite for earthly food, or, rather, its absence, appears also in *2 Enoch*. Immediately before Enoch's instructions about the proper preparation of animals, the text relates a story in which Methuselah invites his father to participate in a family meal. Enoch, however, forcefully declines his son's invitation to consume the earthly food, uttering the following explanation: "Listen, child! Since the time when the Lord anointed me with the ointment of his glory, food has not come into me, and earthly pleasure my soul does not remember; nor do I desire anything earthly."[846]

Situated in the middle of Enoch's moral exhortations and right before his commandments about animal rights, the episode leaves an odd impression thematically. Yet, if the animal welfare discourse is indeed connected with the Giants traditions, then the story of Enoch abstinence from food receives a new significance.

It should be noted that Enoch's rejection of earthly food in *2 Enoch* is a unique motif in the Enochic lore. No other Jewish, Christian, or Muslim source mentions Enoch's reluctance to consume earthly food.[847] Furthermore, in the entire corpus of *1 Enoch*'s booklets the motif of abstention from food is mentioned only twice and, notably, only in relation to two distinct groups: the Giants' "spirits" and the "spirits" of the righteous, a party to which Enoch clearly belongs in *2 Enoch*. According to *1 Enoch* 15:11, "the spirits of the giants … eat nothing, but abstain from food and are thirsty and smite."[848] From *1 Enoch* 108:8–9, one also learns that "those who love God … did not desire the food that is in the world but considered themselves as a breath that passes away … the Lord tested them much, and their spirits were found pure."[849]

At first glance, it appears odd that the spirits of both antagonists and protagonists are unified in a common theme – lost appetite for earthly nourishment. But, notably, their reasons for this condition appear to be different. For Enoch, the loss of earthly appetite is a reward from God and a symbol of his new heavenly nature. For the Giants, as disembodied evil spirits, it is penalty for their transgressions. Goff suggests that the Giants' inability to eat is closely related to their punishment. He argues that "the role of Giants' appetite in their crimes is reflected in the form of the punishment they receive … they are punished by being hungry and yet unable to sate that hunger."[850] *1 Enoch* 15:11 provides

additional support to Goff's hypothesis, specifically mentioning the Giants' thirst, a feature which indicates that, even in their "spiritual" state, they still have not completely lost the need for earthly sustenance.

In light of these traditions, the placement of the tale about the patriarch's vanished appetite right before the patriarch's instructions about proper animal slaughter may not be coincidental and may serve as an additional connection to the motif of the Giants' improper consumption of animals.

If Enoch' abandonment of earthly food is indeed connected with the story of the Giants' voracious appetites, it also has anthropological significance. By his newly acquired condition, which does not require consumption of earthly creatures, Enoch reverses the Watchers' failed "Übermensch" project, in which the union of heavenly and earthly natures has resulted not in renunciation of earthly appetites but in their disastrous increase. The patriarch thus inaugurates a proleptic eschatological transition of humanity to its original heavenly state, the condition wherein Adam was fed not on earthly provisions but, instead, on the luster of God's Glory.

3.11 Unusual Cosmological Revelation

One of the striking features of *2 Enoch* that differentiates it from the rest of the early Enochic materials is its description of the eschatological age, which one finds in both recensions of chapter 65. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 65 presents Enoch's revelation about the final state of creation and humankind:

> Listen, my children! Before ever anything existed, and before ever any created thing was created, the Lord created the whole of his creation, visible and invisible. And however, much time there was went by. Understand how, on account of this, he constituted man in his own form, in accordance with a similarity. And he gave him eyes to see, and ears to hear, and heart to think, and reason to argue. And he divided it into times: And from time and from the years and from the months and from the days and in those and the hours he established years; he settled months; he settled days; he settled 7; he settled the hours; he measured exactly, so that a person might think about time, and so that he might count the years and the months and the days and the hours and the perturbations and the beginnings and the endings, and that he might keep count of his own life from the beginning unto death, and think of his sins, and so that he might write his own achievement, both evil and good. For no achievement is hidden in front of the Lord, so that every person might know his own achievement and so that he might not transgress any one of his commandments at all and so that he might hold onto what my hand has written in generation and generation. And when the whole of creation visible and invisible, which the Lord has created, shall come to an end, then each person will go to the Lord's great judgment. And then all time will perish, and afterward there will be neither years nor months nor days nor hours. They will be dissipated, and after that they will not be reckoned. But they will constitute a single age. And all the righteous, who escape from the Lord's great judgment, will be collected together into the great age. And the great age will come about for the righteous, and it will be eternal. And after that there will be among them neither weariness nor affliction nor worry nor want nor debilitation nor night nor darkness. But they will have a great light, a great indestructible light, and paradise, great and incorruptible. For everything corruptible will pass away, and the incorruptible will come into being, and will be the shelter of the eternal residences.[851]

The first (protological) part of the revelation demonstrates the familiar parallelism between the state of humankind and the state of cosmological order. In the initial section, the deity's endowment of the primordial human with essential faculties to aid his discernment is juxtaposed with the divisions of the cosmos into the calendrical units.

The second (eschatological) part of this disclosure, however, is strikingly different from the eschatological speculations found in the early booklets of *1 Enoch*. *1 Enoch* 80:2–8 describes the eschatological deterioration of several aspects of creation, including calendrical matters when "everything on the earth will change and will not appear at their times." The future collapse of the calendar and the astronomical and meteorological events guided by its timetables is paralleled in *1 Enoch* 80 with the deterioration of the social order of humankind as the sinners on earth "will turn back from their ways."

Although, like *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch* 65 describes both the collapse of the calendar and the collapse of humankind's order, these events do not have *1 Enoch*'s negative connotations. Instead, they are seen as a chain of anticipated and desirable events, which will bring both the cosmos and humankind to final harmonious unity. *2 Enoch* 65, specifically, mentions the disintegration of the calendar when "all time will perish, and afterward there will be neither years nor months nor days nor hours." This statement forms a striking contrast with Enoch's rectifying and harmonizing activities described earlier in the text when the patriarch himself devises the calendar, bringing into existence its years, months, days, and hours.

It appears that *2 Enoch* 65 does not represent an interpolation or departure from the text's broader ideology. The eschatological disintegration of temporal and spatial aspects of created order and its gathering into a single aeon finds their protological counterpart in *2 Enoch*'s presentation of the process of creation in chapter 25. In *2 Enoch* 25, the deity orders the primordial aeon Adoil to disintegrate himself and reveal "all the creation which I [God] had thought up to create."[852] Once can see that in *2 Enoch* the eschatological disintegration of the entire creation and its reintegration into a single aeon mirror these initial protological developments.

3.12 Enoch's Demiurgic Activities

Our study has illustrated that God's measuring, counting, and balancing activities have often been interpreted by experts through the prism of the deity's demiurgic work. It is possible that the similar deeds of the seventh antediluvian hero in measuring, counting, and balancing creation in *2 Enoch* also hint at to his own demiurgical profile, which may serve in the Enochic tradition as an inversion of the demiurgic profiles of the fallen Watchers' leaders, Shemihazah and Asael.[853] One thematic cluster connected with Enoch's demiurgical role appears in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:6 where the patriarch utters the following statement:

> I appointed 4 seasons, and from the seasons I created (сътворих) 4 cycles, and in the cycles I appointed the year, and I appointed months, and from the months I counted days, and from the days I measured off the hours and I counted them and wrote them down.[854]

As has already been noticed in our study, in this passage Enoch does not merely "measure" or "count" cosmological marvels, he also "creates," dividing time into calendrical units, an action which is usually performed by God in various Jewish accounts, including Genesis 1. Reflecting on Enoch's calendrical manipulations, Andersen notes that "Enoch's organization of time makes him sound like the Creator."[855] Indeed, in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 15:3, which speaks about God's creation of an annual horologe, the same verb "сътвори" ("created') is used: "And they showed me this calculation of the sun's movement, and the gates by which he goes in and goes out; for these are the great gates which God created (сътвори) to be an annual horologe."[856] Furthermore, in *2 Enoch* this term appears in several passages which describe God's demiurgic efforts.[857]

Another important verb used in *2 Enoch* 40:6 is "to appoint," which Enoch uses while boasting about his establishment of calendrical correspondences. The reader learns that he "appointed (положих) 4 seasons" or "appointed (положих) the year and … months."[858] The Slavonic terminology again recalls God's demiurgic efforts since it is used in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 30:1 where God appointed (положих) the fiery angels to guard Paradise.[859] Even more thematically close to *2 Enoch* 40:6 is God's own appointment of calendrical phenomena in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 33:1: "On the 8th day I (God) likewise appointed (положих), so that the 8th day might be the 1st, the first-created of my week, and that it should revolve in the revolution of 7000."[860]

The sharing of verbs of creation between Enoch and the deity suggests that God may have delegated to Enoch some demiurgical duties. The concept will reach its apex in later Jewish mysticism where Enoch-Metatron will fashion demiurgic tools in the form of the Tetragrammaton even on his accouterment.

3.13 Supra-Angelic Nature of Enoch's Expertise

The supra-angelic nature of Enoch's role in relation to God's creation warrants close attention. While the early Enochic booklets of *1 Enoch* emphasize Enoch's unique status among human beings,[861] *2 Enoch* emphasizes the patriarch's unique position among all creatures, including angels. Enoch not only knows more about creation than any creature in the world, he can affect creation in ways even God's angels cannot. The feature occurs several times in *2 Enoch*. We can discern some hints of Enoch's expansive role at the very beginning of Enoch's heavenly journey when, in the second heaven, the imprisoned angels ask him to pray for them before God. Answering the angels' request, Enoch expresses his doubts that he, a mortal man, can pray for angels. This episode is obviously drawing on the ancient Enochic motif attested in the *Book of the Watchers* where Enoch intercedes for the fallen Watchers by delivering written petitions on their behalf. Yet, in *2 Enoch*, this tradition has a special significance, purposefully placed at the very beginning of the adept's journey and initiation. Enoch's doubt serves as an initial contrast to his future epistemological and ontological reputation in the celestial community. At the beginning of his journey, he doubts if he can pray for the angels; however, at the end of his initiation, he will boldly assert that he knows more than the angels.

The hints of correlation between Enoch's ontological status and his epistemological prowess can be found in the early accounts of *1 Enoch*. Reflecting on these developments, Michael Stone notes that "the status of Enoch who is an angel-like visionary determines what he can perceive. Once virtually angelified, Enoch can receive heavenly knowledge, just as the fallen angels reveal only forbidden and black knowledge and their descendants become evil spirits."[862] Stone also suggests that

> in both the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Similitudes of Enoch*, the content and moral valuation of what the protagonists can teach or understand is related to their role or position in the cosmos. Often, the same subject taught as part of the Watchers' instruction is also revealed to Enoch in heaven. The difference between the two is conditioned by the role, angelic or fallen, and the location – heavenly or earthly – of the revealer or teacher. Gradation of status is matched by gradation of the content and character of revealed knowledge.[863]

Stone further points out that "in the course of his achieving almost angelic status or as a result of it, Enoch gains knowledge of various celestial secrets and cosmic mysteries. The extent of his ability to learn these celestial mysteries correlates with the standing accorded to him. As he ascends in the heavenly hierarchy more and deeper mysteries are revealed to him."[864]

While in the *Book of the Watchers* and other early booklets of *1 Enoch* the patriarch undergoes what Stone calls "angelification," in *2 Enoch*, Enoch achieves a supra-angelic status. The status becomes first apparent during the hero's induction in the upper heaven when God places Enoch *closer* to himself than Gabriel. It emerges even more clearly during Enoch's instructions to his children in the second part of *2 Enoch* when the hero himself affirms that he is superior to angels in his knowledge and his command of creation. Thus, in the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:3–4, Enoch utters the following words: "And I have recorded the stars and the multitude of multitudes innumerable. What human being can seed their cycles and their phases? For not even the angels know their number. But I have written down all their names."[865] This statement recalls the traditions found in Isa 40:26 and other texts[866] that claim that only God can know the number and the names of the stars.

The supra-angelic position of Enoch during his instruction in the secrets of creation and his ability to count astronomical phenomena and know their names adds a layer to his identity. They indicate the possibility that, in *2 Enoch*, the patriarch operates as a demiurgic agent responsible for refashioning and harmonizing God's creation after the fallen Watchers' illicit teachings compromised it.

Importantly, when Enoch asserts his superiority to angels in *2 Enoch* 40:3–4, he specifically mentions that his superiority relates to *numbers, cycles, and phases* of cosmological phenomena – that is their "measurements" – which may be envisioned as calendrical "*halakhot.*" If the angels, indeed, cannot accomplish this paramount legal task, despite the fact that they sometimes carry "scales and balances" for measuring cosmological phenomena, it forms a curious counterpart to Jewish (and Christian) traditions that postulate that some revelations unveiled to the righteous remain unknown to the angels.

3.14 Enoch as the "Governor of the Earth" in *2 Enoch*

Enoch's control over creation, demonstrated by his recording, measuring, and calculating activities, culminates in *2 Enoch* 43 when he is designated the "governor of the earth." This office crystalizes more fully in later Jewish mysticism when Enoch-Metatron is endowed with the title "Prince of the World," envisioned as the entity who controls both the angelic rulers of various nations and the custodians of cosmological marvels. One can discern formative steps toward the Enoch-Metatron role in *2 Enoch*.

Later "Enochic" developments in *3 Enoch* and other Jewish sources often underline Metatron's role as a governing authority over the nations, kingdoms, and rulers of the earth. Evidence preserved on Aramaic incantation bowls, in rabbinic materials, and in the Hekhalot accounts, including *Sefer Hekhalot*, testifies to the understanding of Metatron's position as the Prince of the World, the leader of the seventy-two princes of the kingdoms of world, who pleads on behalf of the world before God. I have previously suggested that this prominent theological development, which elevates Metatron to the role of the leader of the whole world, did not originate in the rabbinic period but has its early roots in pre-mishnaic Enochic lore.[867] Although Enoch's role as a governing power on earth is unknown in the early Enochic materials of *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Book of Giants*, the traditions of *2 Enoch* seem to point to the possibility of the early existence of such imagery.

Two texts, chapter 43 of the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* and a similar passage preserved in the Slavonic collection *Merilo Pravednoe*, depict the patriarch in a previously unknown celestial role. The related passages represent a part of Enoch's instructions to his children during his brief return to earth. While conveying his instructions, Enoch mentions his new role as the governor of the earth:

> And behold, my children, I am the governor[868] of the earth, I wrote (them) down. And the whole year I combined, and the hours of the day. And the hours I measured; and I wrote down every seed on earth. And I compared every measure and the just balance I measured. And I wrote (them) down, just as the Lord commanded … . I will put down the doings of each person, and no one will hide; because the Lord is the one who pays, and he will be the avenger on the great judgment day.[869]

Francis Andersen has suggested that Enoch's role as a governing force perplexed scribes, who may have seen these unusual claims as challenging divine sovereignty. Thus, reflecting on variations of the Slavonic term "кормствуемая," which he translates as "manager,"[870] but more correctly can be rendered as "managing/ruling/governing," Andersen points out that "the variations probably betray theological embarrassment among the scribes."[871] He further notes that "other passages suggest that Enoch himself was in charge of these arrangements, which could have been objected to as an intrusion on divine prerogatives."[872]

Another aspect *2 Enoch* that seems to affirm Enoch's role as the ruling and guarding force over creation is his designation as the "king of the earth." In the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 39:8, Enoch utters the following: "And now, my children, listen to the discourses of an earthly king(!). It is dangerous and perilous to stand before the face of an earthly king, terrifying (and very perilous) it is, because the will of the king is death and the will of the king is life. To stand before the face of the King (of kings), who will be able to endure the infinite terror (of that), or of the great burnings?"[873] Although the longer recension of *2 Enoch* 39:8 has "earthly father" instead of "earthly king," Francis Andersen has proposed that "the earthly king" here is Enoch himself, observing:

> other short MSS (V N B B^2) read the noun "advice about an earthly king"; or, perhaps, "the parable of the earthly king" which makes a comparison *a fortiori* with the heavenly king, a strategy familiar enough from the Gospels. But the contrast is between instruction from an earthly king, which is terrifying enough, and teaching from the King of Kings. This only works if the earthly king is Enoch himself, who has been the other pole of the contrast all the way through the chapter. R J P have eased this problem by reading "earthly father."[874]

The designation of Enoch as a royal/governing power on earth is not confined solely to chapter 39.

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 46:1–2 also recounts a tradition about Enoch as an earthly king when Enoch, again, refers to his royal status indirectly in the third person.[875]

Enoch's designation as "earthly king" in *2 Enoch* suggests the apocalypse understands Enoch not as one among the earthly kings, but as *the* king of the earth, who, in a manner similar to Adam, supervises all arrangements on the earth.

It should be noted that *2 Enoch*'s acclimation of Enoch as a king is unique among the early Enochic materials. In *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Book of Giants*, the patriarch is often described as an intercessor, a visionary, a scribe, an expert in secrets, but never directly as a king. I have previously argued that Enoch's role as the king of the earth has an Adamic background[876] since *2 Enoch* 30:12 describes Adam as the king of the earth.[877] This honorable role in *2 Enoch*, as in the Genesis account, serves not merely as an impressive metaphor but implies specific duties, which demonstrate Adam's royal status. Most of these activities have biblical roots. From *2 Enoch* 58:3, one learns that the Lord appointed Adam over

> everything [as king], and he subjected everything to him in subservience under his hand, both the dumb and the deaf, to be commanded and for submission and for every servitude. So also to every human being. The Lord created mankind to be the lord of all his possessions.[878]

This description of Adam's duties corresponds to the account found in Gen 1:26–30, in which God gives Adam dominion over "everything that has the breath of life." As in Gen 2:19–20, one of the important functions of the newly appointed king is the registration of everything (i.e., all the living creatures of the earth) placed under his stewardship through the act of naming them. *2 Enoch* 58 states that

> the Lord came down onto the earth [on account of Adam]. And he inspected all his creatures which he himself had created in the beginning of the thousand ages and when after all those he had created Adam. And the Lord summoned all the animals of the earth and all reptiles of the earth and all the birds that fly in the air, and he brought them all before the face of our father Adam, so that he might pronounce names for all the quadrupeds; and [Adam] named everything that lives on the earth.[879]

Assigning names in *2 Enoch*, just as in the Genesis account, designates Adam's dominion over "everything that lives on the earth." This dominion, as in the biblical account, is supervised by the deity. The whole picture indicates that the author of *2 Enoch* understands Adam's kingship as the management of God's property. It is significant that *2 Enoch* defines Adam's role as "the lord of all God's possessions."[880] In *2 Enoch*, however, the uniqueness of the governing role of Adam as the lord of all God's possessions is challenged by the account of Enoch's kingship and his role as "the governor of the earth."

Our study has demonstrated that in early Enochic booklets of *1 Enoch* the patriarch is already depicted as counting and recording astronomical, meteorological, geographical, and calendrical phenomena. The actions obtain a new significance in *2 Enoch*, which envisions them not merely as routines for recording the current state of creation but as strategies for its rectification and the restoring of its balance. While the deeds of the fallen angels led to the corruption of the created order and its measurements, embodied in the "law of the stars," the patriarch, through his measuring, calculating, weighing, and recording routines, returns nature to its "righteous balance," rescuing God's creation.

3.15 Enoch-Metatron and Cosmological Secrets in *3 Enoch*

Later rabbinic and Hekhalot developments, especially *3 Enoch*, maintain many of the conceptual trends of *2 Enoch*, envisioning Enoch not merely as a recipient of cosmological secrets but as an agent that controls and manages the cosmological realities. The role of the seventh antediluvian hero as the governor of the world, which first appears in *2 Enoch*, finds new, forceful expression in *Sefer*

Hekhalot.[881]

Like in early Enochic accounts, in *3 Enoch* the hero's expertise in the cosmological mysteries emerges to address the consequences of the Watchers' illicit pedagogy. The chaos and terror that the fallen angels instilled on various aspects of God's creation inversely parallels the results of Enoch-Metatron's work, which aims to guard and sustain the cosmological order.

One of the pivotal testimonies to the motif is found in *3 Enoch* 5, which describes a cosmological catastrophe that took place in "Enosh's generation" when the sun, the moon, the stars, and the constellation were "brought down" and "stationed before the idols on earth." *3 Enoch* 5:7–9 graphically describe these disastrous events:

> What did the men of Enosh's generation do? They roamed the world from end to end, and each of them amassed silver, gold, precious stones, and pearls in mountainous heaps and piles. In the four quarters of the world they fashioned them into idols, and in each quarter they set up idols about 1,000 parasangs in height. They brought down the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations and stationed them before the idols, to their right and to their left, to serve them in the way they served the Holy One, blessed be he, as it is written, "All the array of heaven stood in his presence, to his right and to his left." How was it that they had the strength to bring them down? It was only because ʿUzzah, ʿAzzah, and ʿAzaʾel taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down.[882]

It is not coincidental that *3 Enoch* ties this cosmological calamity to the Watchers' illicit pedagogy. According to *3 Enoch*, calamity occurred because ʿUzzah, ʿAzzah, and ʿAzaʾel *taught* humankind sorceries. Designating the angelic revealers as ʿUzzah, ʿAzzah, and ʿAzaʾel brings to mind the names of the infamous Watchers' leaders – Shemihazah and Asael.

One can see that many centuries after the composition of the earliest Enochic booklets, their Hekhalot counterparts still work with a familiar epistemological framework, in which the positive revealer – in the form of Enoch-Metatron – is contrasted with angelic antagonists who corrupt humankind with illicit teachings.

In light of these correspondences, appropriately, many duties of Enoch-Metatron parallel Enoch's early roles – especially the offices reflected in *2 Enoch*.[883] Yet, *3 Enoch* expands the early trends even further, envisioning Enoch-Metatron not only as the governor of the earth but as the governor of the cosmological "treasuries." Macaskill notes that "Enoch himself, as Metatron, is put in charge of all the heavenly treasuries and storehouses (*3 Enoch* 10:6 and 48c:3)."[884] Macaskill points out that *3 Enoch*'s descriptions of these entities demonstrate similarities to *2 Enoch*'s portrayals since in them terminology of "storehouses" and "treasuries" are used interchangeably. *3 Enoch* 37:2 reads,

> between one tongue and another is a circle of treasuries of lightning (אוצרי ברקים); behind the treasuries of lightning is a circle of hurricane blasts; behind the hurricane blasts is a circle of storehouses of storm; behind the storehouses of storm (גנזי סערה) is a circle of winds, thunderclaps, thunders, and sparks; behind the sparks is a circle of tremors.[885]

Macaskill points out that *3 Enoch* "does not simply repeat the biblical term אוצר, but now also uses גנז. This is somewhat similar to what we saw in the Slavonic material, where two words are used with equivalent force."[886]

Furthermore, in *3 Enoch* Enoch-Metatron assumes leadership over the guardians of the cosmological phenomena. One of the most extensive descriptions of Enoch-Metatron interaction with the angelic guardians of the cosmological marvels unfolds in *3 Enoch* 14:1–5:

> R. Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, said to me: When the Holy One, blessed be he, placed this crown upon my head, all the princes of kingdoms who are in the height of the heaven of ʿArabot and all the legions of every heaven trembled at me. … Even the angel of fire, the angel of hail, the angel of wind, the angel of lightning, the angel of whirlwind, the angel of thunder, the angel of snow, the angel of rain, the angel of day, the angel of night, the angel of the sun, the angel of the moon, the angel of the stars, the angel of the constellations, who guide the

> world by their direction, trembled and shrank back in alarm from me when they saw me. These are the names of the princes who guide the world:
>
> Gabriel, the angel of fire;
> Baradiʾel, the angel of hail;
> Ruḥiʾel, who is in charge of wind;
> Baraqiʾel, who is in charge of lightning;
> Zaʿamiʾel, who is charge of whirlwind;
> Ziqiʾel, who is in charge of comets;
> Ziʿiʾel, who is charge of tremors;
> Zaʿapiʾel, who is in charge of hurricane;
> Raʿamiʾel, who is charge of thunder;
> Raʿašiʾel, who is in charge of earthquakes;
> Šalgiʾel, who is charge of snow;
> Maṭariʾel, who is in charge of rain;
> Šimšiʾel, who is in charge of day;
> Lailiʾel, who is in charge of night;
> Galgalliʾel, who is in charge of the orb of the sun;
> ʾOpanniʾel, who is in charge of the disk of the moon;
> Kokabiʾel, who is in charge of the stars;
> Rahaṭiʾel, who is in charge of the constellations.
> They all fell prostrate when they saw me and could not look at me because of the majesty, splendor, beauty, brightness, brilliance, and radiance of the glorious crown which was on my head.[887]

The description contains familiar angelic names reminiscent of the fallen Watchers' lists found in the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Book of the Similitudes*.[888] Yet, the rebellious patrons of the moon, the sun, and other astronomical and meteorological phenomena are replaced now with obedient angelic wardens organized under the leadership[889] of Enoch-Metatron.[890] Their obedience is illustrated by their prostration before the angelified patriarch, who in various parts of *Sefer Hekhalot* is depicted as the Prince of the World.[891] Several words, therefore, must be said about this important leadership role.

Philip Alexander argues that in *Synopse* §74[892] the duties of the Prince of the World have become attached to Enoch-Metatron.[893] This text informs the reader that God placed under Metatron's hand every authority that rules over the world:[894]

> I gave seventy princes into his hand, to issue to them my commandments in every language; to abase the arrogant to the earth at his word; to elevate the humble to the height at the utterance of his lips; to smite kings at his command; to subdue rulers and presumptuous men at his bidding; to remove kings from their kingdoms, and to exalt rulers over their dominions.[895]

In examining the imagery of the Prince of the World in *3 Enoch*, one must carefully distinguish between the depictions of the various activities pertaining to this office and the references to the appellation itself. Thus, although Enoch-Metatron seems to possess some definite qualities of the Prince of the World in *3 Enoch*, the sobriquet, the Prince of the World, is not explicitly associated[896] with Enoch-Metatron in this text.[897] Metatron's duties in *Synopse* §4, §13, and §74, however, are very similar to those found in the passages which contain the title the Prince of the World in *Synopse* §47 and §56. *Synopse* §47 refers to the seventy-two princes of the kingdoms in the world when it mentions the Prince of the World:

> Whenever the Great Law Court sits in the height of the heaven ʿArabot, only the great princes who are called YHWH by the name of the Holy One, blessed be he, are permitted to speak. How many princes are there? There are 72 princes of kingdoms in the world, not counting the Prince of the World (שר העולם), who speaks in favor of the world before the Holy One, blessed be he, every day at the hour when the book is opened in which every deed in the world is recorded, as it is written, "A

court was held, and the books were opened."[898]

Alexander argues that if one takes this passage from *Synopse* §47 in conjunction with *Synopse* §13 (*3 Enoch* 10:3), which depicts Enoch-Metatron's authority below the eight great princes of YHWH but above all other princes, it would appear that Enoch-Metatron is, implicitly, the Prince of the World.

Importantly, the great angel's control of various aspects of creation is closely tied to his role as possessor of the secrets of creation when demiurgic tools are written on his accouterment and his crown. As we have already witnessed in our study, demiurgic functions play an important role in showing Enoch as a rectifier of corrupted cosmological realities. *3 Enoch* 13:1–2 offers the following description of Enoch-Metatron's crown, by which he is able to control the guardians of cosmological phenomena:

> R. Ishmael said: The angel Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, the glory of highest heaven, said to me: Out of the abundant love and great compassion wherewith the Holy One, blessed be he, loved and cherished me more than all the denizens of the heights, he wrote with his finger, as with a pen of flame, upon the crown which was on my head,
>
> the letters by which heaven and earth were created;
>
> the letters by which seas and rivers were created;
>
> the letters by which mountains and hills were created;
>
> the letters by which stars and constellations, lightning and wind, thunder and thunderclaps, snow and hail, hurricane and tempest were created;
>
> the letters by which all the necessities of the world and all the orders of creation were created.
>
> Each letter flashed time after time like lightnings, time after time like torches, time after time like flames, time after time like the rising of the sun, moon, and stars.[899]

This account recalls onomatological traditions from the *Book of the Similitudes*. We have seen that in these conceptual currents, the leader of the fallen angels, Shemihazah, is envisioned as the personified divine Name who controls the other fallen Watchers, who themselves represent various cosmological aspects of creation. *3 Enoch*, however, envisions Enoch-Metatron as the hypostasis of the divine Name, the Lesser YHWH, able to command the angelic guardians of various aspects of created order. The controlling/balancing properties of the divine Name assigned to Enoch-Metatron can be illuminated by *3 Enoch* 17:1–7, where various cosmological and natural phenomena are put in the balance by powers of the divine Name:

> R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you where water is suspended in the height of Raqiaʿ, where fire burns in the midst of hail; where lightnings flash in the midst of mountains of snow; where thunders rumble in the highest heights; where flame blazes in the midst of burning fire; where voices can be heard above thunder and earthquake. I went with him, and, taking me by his hand, he bore me up on his wings and showed me all these things. I saw water suspended in the height of the heaven of ʿArabot, through the power of the name Yah, I am that I am, and its fruits were descending from heaven and watering the surface of the earth, as it is written, From your palace you water the uplands, the earth is full of the fruit of your works. I saw fire, snow, and hailstones enclosed one within the other, without one destroying the other, through the power of the name A Consuming Fire, as it is written, "For YHWH your God is a consuming fire." I saw lightnings flashing in the midst of mountains of snow, without being quenched, through the power of the name Yah, YHWH the Everlasting Rock, as it is written, "Yah, YHWH is the everlasting Rock." I saw thunders and voices roaring in the midst of flames of fire, without being overwhelmed, through the power of the name Great God Almighty, as it is written, "I am God Almighty." I saw flames of fire flaring and burning in the midst of blazing fire without being swallowed up, through the power of the name A Hand upon the Throne of Yah, as it is written, "And he said: a hand upon the throne of Yah." I saw rivers of fire in the midst of rivers of water, and rivers of water in the midst

> of rivers of fire, through the power of the name He Keeps the Peace, as it is written, "He keeps the peace in his heights." He keeps peace between fire and water, between hail and fire, between wind and cloud, between tremors and comets.[900]

In light of these onomatological traditions where the Tetragrammaton governs and sustains various aspects of God's creation, the role of Enoch-Metatron as the representation of the divine Name or the "Lesser YHWH" receives a new significance.

Like in *2 Enoch*, Enoch-Metatron's exalted position secures his access to divine knowledge, but *3 Enoch* expands the scope of the patriarch's access. *Synopse* §14 (*3 Enoch* 11) attests to the omniscience of Metatron and his immeasurable competence, which he possesses because the deity revealed to him "all the mysteries of wisdom, all the depths of the perfect Torah and all the thoughts of men's hearts."[901] The text leaves the impression that the fullness of the angel's expertise can be compared only to the knowledge of the deity himself since all the mysteries of the world and all the orders (secrets)[902] of creation are revealed before him "as they stand revealed before the Creator."[903]

One learns from *Sefer Hekhalot* that Enoch-Metatron's initiation into the ultimate secrets and mysteries of the universe allows him to discern the outer and inner nature of things, which includes the mysteries of creation as well as the secrets of human hearts. Enoch-Metatron informs R. Ishmael[904] that he has a unique capacity for foreknowledge, which enables him to behold "deep secrets and wonderful mysteries. Before a man thinks in secret, I [Metatron] see his thought; before he acts, I see his act. There is nothing in heaven above or deep within the earth concealed from me."[905] The association of cosmological secrets and the secrets of human hearts once again recalls the common thread from early Enochic documents where one can find both subjects invoked in tandem constantly.

3.16 Conclusion: Enochic Soteriology and the Mosaic Law

Our analysis of Enoch's soteriological profile, which in *2 Enoch* is enhanced with new otherworldly features, provides additional insight into why the early Enochic booklets are so reluctant to embrace openly and unconditionally the legal framework of the Mosaic revelation.[906] The answer may lie in the Enochic soteriological project's inability to be accomplished within the confines of the Mosaic Torah, especially within its rigid spatial ideology. Scholars have previously reflected on the topological peculiarities of the Pentateuch's accounts, which discourage any depiction of human attempt to ascend to upper realms in order to receive divine revelation. Gabriele Boccaccini observes that in "the primeval history, as edited in the Zadokite Torah (Gen 1–11) … any attempt to cross the boundary between humanity and the divine always results in disaster."[907]

Although the Book of Genesis mentions Enoch's ascension, it does not assign any soteriological significance to the event. Indeed, the biblical soteriological projects do not require any travel to otherworldly realms. For example, Moses receives his revelations on an earthy mountain, and Ezekiel receives his vision of the *Merkavah* not in the heavenly throne room, like Enoch, but, instead, on the river Chebar. Yet, the Enochic etiology of evil, in which the fallen Watchers traverse the boundaries of realms as a part of their corruption of God's creation, sets the stage for a quite different plan of salvation. In the Enochic program, Enoch must go to heaven in order to accomplish his soteriological mission, a task which is impossible to undertake in the topological framework of the Mosaic Law. In this prohibited realm, from the point of view of the Mosaic Torah, the seventh antediluvian hero receives revelations which help to restore the divine order corrupted by the fallen Watchers. These arrangements once again point to the complexity of the Enochic "transcendental" etiology of corruption and its equally complex program of mitigation, a soteriological effort that cannot be accomplished according to the Mosaic legal *chronotope*, which forbids journeys to other realms.

Conclusion

To conclude our study, we must again return to the Enochic traditions of the cosmological law. Scholars have previously suggested that the discussed nomological currents were not unique to the Enochic worldview. Indeed, the Enochic developments reflect broader apocalyptic and sapiential patterns, in which cosmological revelations are envisioned as either equal or supplementary to the Mosaic Torah. Leo Perdue argues that, for example, "Ben Sira indicates that the increasing prominence given to Torah as a source of revelation does not replace creation (cf. Sir. 39:1–35). Indeed, creation and Torah are the twin poles for authoritative knowledge, for the wisdom used by God in creating and sustaining the world now resides in nature and the text of the Torah."[908] One can trace such tendencies in non-Enochic Jewish apocalyptic accounts where cosmological measurements appear as a part of the revelation given to Moses. For instance, *2 Bar*. 59:3–11, wherein Moses receives the "list of revealed things" during his reception of the Torah on the Mount Sinai, says,

> But also the heaven will be shaken from its place at that time; that is, the heavens which are under the throne of the Mighty One were severely shaken when he took Moses with him. For he showed him many warnings together with the ways of the Law and the end of time, as also to you; and then further, also the likeness of Zion with its measurements which was to be made after the likeness of the present sanctuary. But he also showed him, at that time, the measures of fire, the depths of the abyss, the weight of the winds, the number of the raindrops … the multitude of the angels which cannot be counted, the powers of the flame, the splendor of lightnings, the voice of the thunders, the orders of the archangels, the treasuries of the light, the changes of the times, and the inquiries into the Law.[909]

This account alludes to details of Moses' reception of the Torah described in Exodus. Yet, *2 Baruch* fashions this paramount disclosure of the Law as a detailed list of cosmological minutiae, which contains, among other things, "the measures of fire, the depths of the abyss, the weight of the winds, the number of the raindrops." Here, similar to the hero of the early Enochic booklets, Moses receives not only ethical precepts etched on the stone tablets but also measurements of cosmological phenomena. The description provides a crucial insight into the nature and function of the so-called "lists of the revealed things" already mentioned in our study. Considering *2 Baruch*'s testimony, it is possible that in some contexts these lists function as apocalyptic counterparts to the biblical revelation of the Torah. While in the biblical tradition the divine Law and its commandments are illustrated through humanity's story and the interactions between individual human beings, in the apocalyptic version of the divine Law its commandments are presented through a list of cosmological phenomena – the interrelationships between astronomical, calendrical, and meteorological measurements. Menahem Kister points out that in some early Jewish texts "the measurements ordained by God are applied to His creation, to His actions in history, and to the portions of righteousness of human beings … . These 'measurements' are, to some extent, equivalent to the notion of divine law, consisting of the laws of nature, the laws of history and the laws of the Torah, all ordained by God."[910] Kister's reflections point to the possibility that, in some early Jewish accounts, revelations of cosmological, meteorological, and calendrical measurements served as "equivalent to the notion of divine law," representing an apocalyptic counterpart or supplement to the Mosaic Torah. The concept of the "law of the stars" can be seen as one specimen of such nomological revelation, which have become understood, in the Enochic tradition, as *halakhot* associated with the measurements of cosmological phenomena. If the disclosures of cosmological measurements are indeed envisioned in the Enochic tradition as the "commandments" of the "law of the stars," *2 Enoch*'s cosmological revelations, intermixed with moral exhortations about measuring and "weighing" of human deeds, may also have legal significance.[911] Furthermore, the conflation of ethics and cosmological phenomena may suggest that the "law of the stars," the legal code for maintaining cosmological order, may be seen in the Enochic tradition as legal instruction similar to – or even superior to – the Mosaic Torah.[912] These universal laws, which regulate the proper progression of the

celestial bodies and meteorological phenomena, have become envisioned as the archetypal patterns for the moral behavior of humankind. The Enochic tradition forwards the belief that cosmology, through calendrical correspondences, directly impacts the social and, especially, the cultic life of the human community.[913] George Nickelsburg points out that "central to Enochic Torah is calendrical practice. The *Book of the Luminaries* (chaps. 72–82), although it is descriptive rather than prescriptive, lays out the 'laws' that govern the movements of the heavenly bodies and states that adherence to the calendar based on these laws constitutes the 'way of righteousness.'"[914]

Consequently, some early Enochic accounts strive to depict the reception and transmission of cosmological revelations in language reminiscent of the reception and transmission of the Mosaic Torah. One can detect such correspondences, for example, in *2 Enoch*'s descriptions of the dissemination of Enochic books filled with cosmological knowledge.[915] The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 35 describes this transmission in the following words:

> And I will leave a righteous man from your tribe, together with all his house, who will act according to my will. And from his seed another generation will arise, the last of many, and very gluttonous. Then at the conclusion of that generation the books in your handwriting will be revealed, and those of your fathers, and the earthly guardians [of these books] will show them to the Men of Faith (мужемъ вѣрнымъ). And they will be recounted to that generation, and they will be glorified in the end more than in the beginning.[916]

The account suggests that the diffusion of the Enochic scriptures on earth will proceed in such way that the earthly guardians of the books will forward the patriarch's writings to the "Men of Faith" (мужемъ вѣрнымъ).[917] The reference to the "Men of Faith" as the last link in the chain of transmission of the Enochic scriptures recalls the terminology used in *3 Enoch* to describe the Torah's transmission. In *Sefer Hekhalot* the Torah is initially given by Enoch-Metatron to Moses and then passes along a chain of transmission that eventually brings it into the hands of a group designated the "Men of Faith." The passage found in *3 Enoch* 48D:10 reads,

> Metatron brought it [Torah] out from my storehouses and committed it to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra the Scribe, Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the Elder, Hillel the Elder to R. Abbahu, R. Abbahu to R. Zira, R. Zira *to the Men of Faith* (לאנשי אמונה), and the Men of Faith *to the Faithful* (לבעלי אמונות).[918]

Scholars have previously noted[919] that the succession of the mystical tradition recalls the chain of transmissions of the oral law preserved in *Pirke Avot*, the *Sayings of the Fathers*. *M.* Avot 1:1 reads,

> Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the Prophets; and the Prophets committed it to the men of the Great Synagogue. They said three things: Be deliberate in judgment, raise up many disciples, and make a fence around the Law.[920]

3 Enoch's authors rework the traditional Mishnaic arrangement of prophets, rabbis, and sages, placing Enoch-Metatron at the beginning of the chain as the initial revealer. As the final inheritors of this revelation, they add the enigmatic group designated the "Men of Faith." These Men of Faith, along with the Faithful,[921] represent the last link in the chain of the transmission to whom the Torah will eventually be given. This group is unknown in *Pirke Avot* and similar early clusters of the traditions attested in *Avot d' R. Nathan*.[922] It is possible that the authors of *3 Enoch* have combined the two traditions by adding a new Enochic group, similar to those found in *2 Enoch* 35, to the mishnaic line of transmission reflected in *Pirke Avot* and *Avot d' R. Nathan*. These correspondences once again indicate that Enoch's cosmological measurements and their ethical applications in *2 Enoch* were understood as the revelation of the Law, comparable to the Law later received by Moses on the Mount Sinai.

Despite Nickelsburg, Argall, and other experts' earlier hypotheses about the nomolological

dimension of the cosmological knowledge, their insights have played only a marginal role in recent investigations of Enochic epistemology. This study has attempted to bring a new light to these earlier intuitions by exploring the traditions found in *2 Enoch*, where cosmological measurements are envisioned as the foundation for Enoch's ethical instructions.

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Notes

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H. S. Kvanvig, *Primeval History: Babylonian, Biblical, and Enochic. An Intertextual Reading* (JSJSS, 149; Leiden: Brill, 2011) 528.

2

M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 77.

3

J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament; Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995) 33.

4

A. Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 46.

5

A. Y. Reed, "Heavenly Ascent, Angelic Descent, and the Transmission of Knowledge in *1 Enoch* 6–16," in: *Heavenly Realms and Earthly Realities in Late Antique Religions* (ed. R. S. Abusch and A. Y. Reed; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 47–66 at 57. Reed notes that "the modes of divination listed in *1 Enoch* 8:3 invoke and invert a common apocalyptic conceptualization of heavenly secrets: cosmological and meteorological phenomena. The inclusion of knowledge about the sun, moon, earth, stars, lightning, and fire-balls amongst the teachings of the Watchers presents a striking contrast with the elevated status of cosmological wisdom in other parts of the *Book of the Watchers* (esp. 1–5; 17–19; 20–36)." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 41.

6

M. E. Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels: Teaching and Status," *DSD* 22 (2015) 342–357; idem, "Enoch's Revelations?," *JSP* 31 (2022) 249–263.

7

Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels," 350–351. Summarizing these parallels, Stone affirms that "the subjects taught by the Watchers are negative aspects of subjects apprehended by Enoch is his angelified state." Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels," 342.

8

Stone, "Enoch's Revelations?," 224–225.

9

Karina Martin Hogan notices that "Enoch crosses in reverse (albeit in a vision) the very boundary that he is commissioned to rebuke the Watchers for transgressing." K. Hogan, "The Watchers Traditions in the and the Book of the Watchers and the Animal Apocalypse," in: *The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (eds. A. Kim Harkins, K. Coblentz Bautch, and J. C. Endres; Minneapolis, MI: Fortress Press, 2014) 107–119 at 111–112.

10

A. Y. Reed "Enoch in the Armenian Apocrypha," in: *The Armenian Apocalyptic Tradition: A Comparative Perspective* (ed. K. B. Bardakjian and S. LaPorta; SVTP, 25; Leiden: Brill, 2014) 149–187 at 178. One can also detect a certain parallelism between Enoch and the Watchers' emotional conditions. Angela Kim Harkins points out that "Enoch comes to embody the physical responses of fear that are first exhibited by the earth and by the Watchers." Angela

Kim Harkins, “Reading the Qumran Hodayot in Light of the Traditions Associated with Enoch,” *Henoch* 32 (2010) 1–42 at 37.

11

Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels,” 352.

12

Reflecting on the “practical” dimension of the knowledge revealed by the Watchers and Enoch in early Enochic booklets, Sanders proposes that we “need to carefully tease this category out from existing Greek terms such as *tekhne*, a type of practical skill often associated with crafts like metalworking, and existing in tension with *episteme*, pure knowledge. Indeed, the fact that astronomy and astrology are taught along with metalworking, medicine and magic by the fallen angels in *1 Enoch* 7–9 would suggest that a category such as *tekhne* may have been more natural.” S. L. Sanders, “I Was Shown Another Calculation,” in: *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature* (ed. J. Ben-Dov and S. L. Sanders; New York: New York University Press, 2014) 69–102 at 101.

13

About a possible date of the *Book of the Watchers*, Nickelsburg notes that “the earliest traditions in the book may predate the Hellenistic period, and the book as a whole was completed by the middle of the third century B.C.E.” G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1 –36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MI: Fortress Press, 2001), 7. On the date of the *Book of the Watchers,* see also J. H. Charlesworth, “A Rare Consensus among Enoch Specialists: The Date of the Earliest Enoch Books,” *Henoch* 24 (2002) 255–34; J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998) 44; T. M. Erho and L. T. Stuckenbruck, “A Manuscript History of Ethiopic Enoch,” *JSP* 23 (2013) 87–133; M. E. Stone, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.,” *CBQ* 40 (1978) 479–492 at 484.

14

D. Dimant, *“The Fallen Angels” in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them* (Ph.D. diss.; Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1974) 65 and 72; idem, “1 Enoch 6–11: A Methodological Perspective,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978) 323–39.

15

P. D. Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in *1 Enoch* 6–11,” *JBL* 96 (1977) 195–233; idem, “A Response to John Collins’ Methodological Issues in the Study of *1 Enoch*,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978) 311–314.

16

G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *JBL* 96 (1977) 383–405 at 385–386; idem, “Reflections upon Reflections: A Response to John Collins’ Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978) 311–314; idem, *1 Enoch 1*, 184.

17

C. A. Newsom, “The Development of *1 Enoch* 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment,” *CBQ* 42 (1980) 310–329.

18

George Nickelsburg argues that “tensions exist between the material about Asael and the narrative about Shemihazah. According to chap. 6, Shemihazah is the leader of two hundred angels who proposes the deed (the procreation of the giants) that brings evil into the world. In 8:1–2, 9:6, and 10:4–8 it is implied or stated in a variety of ways that Asael is the primary cause of the earth’s desolation. Moreover, the nature of his revolt differs from that of Shemihazah. Rather than proposing marriage with mortal women, he reveals deadly secrets.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 165.

19

Reed, “Heavenly Ascent,” 51.

20

Reed, “Heavenly Ascent,” 51–52. In her other work, Reed notes that “virtually all [scholars] share the view of the motif of illicit angelic instruction as a secondary development within the Enochic myth of angelic descent.” Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 29.

21

Thus, for example, John Collins points out that “we cannot purposefully discuss the meaning and function of the Shemihazah story apart from the Asael material” and “the fact that these distinct traditions are allowed to stand in some degree of tension is already significant for our understanding of the function of this book.” J. J. Collins, “Methodological Issues in the Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on the Articles of P. D. Hanson and G. W. Nickelsburg,” *SBLSP* 13 (1978) 315–21 at 316; idem, “The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers,” *CBQ* 44 (1982) 91–111 at 97. Following Collins’ insights, Reed argues that since “we have no evidence that the Shemihazah and Asael material in *1 Enoch* 6–11 ever circulated independently, we must take seriously their combination in the present form of these chapters.” Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 29. Drawnel points out that “it is difficult not to agree with Collins’s argumentation not only because the available textual evidence presents one narration, but also because Nickelsburg’s argumentation about the 'contamination' of the Asael narrative by the motif of instruction seems to be based mostly on thematic, not literary, grounds.” H. Drawnel, “Knowledge Transmission in the Context of the Watchers’ Sexual Sin with the Women in 1 Enoch 6–11,” *The Biblical Annals* 2 (2012) 123–151 at 126.

22

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 172–182.

23

For the history of this argument, see Drawnel, “Knowledge Transmission,” 121–127.

24

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 184.

25

For another challenge to the consensus, see Drawnel, “Knowledge Transmission,” 136ff.

26

J. C. VanderKam, “Versions of the Angel Story in 1 Enoch 6–11,” in: *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini* (ed. J. H. Ellens et al.; DCLS, 38; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018) 166–176 at 168. Emphasis mine.

27

4QEn^{a} 1 iii, 6–12; 4QEn^{b} 1 ii, 15–17; 4QEn^{c} 1 ii, 24–30.

28

M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) 2.70.

29

This and other Aramaic names of the Watchers are taken from H. Drawnel’s publication of the Qumran fragments of the Enochic books in H. Drawnel, *Qumran Cave 4: The Aramaic Books of Enoch, 4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204, 4Q205, 4Q206, 4Q207, 4Q212* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019) 60–61.

30

J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976) 152; M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (SVTP, 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 119; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 179; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61, 112.

31

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 119. Knibb translates this angelic name as "land of the Mighty One." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.71.

32

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 152; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

33

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 179.

34

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 119.

35

Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.72; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 179; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

36

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 119.

37

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 119.

38

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 180; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

39

Cf. *Sync.* 8:3.

40

M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG, 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 21.

41

A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1853) 94; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 120; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 63.

42

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 180.

43

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 120; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.72; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 180; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

44

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153.

45

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 120; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 180.

46

Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

47

Nickelsburg suggests that "in context the name is one more reference to God's function as judge." He further points out that "several names emphasize God's judicial activity." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181.

48

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 120.

49

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153.

50

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 180; H. Drawnel, "Between Akkadian *tupšarrūtu* and Aramaic ספר: Some Notes on the Social Context of the Early Enochic Literature," *RevQ* 24 (2010) 375–403 at 392; idem, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

51

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 121; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 180; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

52

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 121; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 180; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

53

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.73; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 180. Jackson suggests that Hermani means "'Of Hermon' but suggests a link with 'the ban' (חרם) rather than the place." D. Jackson, *Enochic Judaism: Three Defining Paradigm Exemplars* (LSTS, 49; London: T&T Clark, 2004) 142.

54

M. Black, "The Twenty Angel Dekadarchs at *1 Enoch* 6, 7 and 62.2," *JJS* 33 (1982) 227–35 at 233.

55

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.73; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

56

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.73; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

57

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 153; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

58

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 154; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.74; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

59

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 154; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

60

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122.

61

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 154; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of*

Enoch, 61.

62

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 154; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.74; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

63

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 156; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181.

64

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 154; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.74; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

65

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 154.

66

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122.

67

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 154; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 61.

68

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 122; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.71.

69

Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.70.

70

VanderKam point out that "Dimant ("The 'Fallen Angels,'" 52–53) has maintained that the list is secondary to the narrative. As she points out, it recurs in 69:2 and partially in 8:3, but this is no reason for excluding it from the Shemihazah story, since 8:3 simply draws names from the one in 6:7, and 69:2 could be a quotation of 6:7. That chs. 7 and 8 end with similar lines need say nothing about whether the contents of ch. 8 are secondary." VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in 1 Enoch 6–11," 173. In contrast to Dimant's opinion, VanderKam proposes that "several factors indicate that, far from being an addition that can easily be excised by the critic's knife, the list belongs in the Shemihazah story—or at least that an editor has done a very good job of incorporating it." VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in 1 Enoch 6–11," 174. See also Nickelsburg's comment on *1 Enoch* 6:7–8: "There is nothing in the present text to indicate that the list is a secondary addition to the story." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 178.

71

VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in *1 Enoch* 6–11," 174.

72

VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in 1 Enoch 6–11," 174. In his earlier study, written almost thirty years ago, VanderKam formulated this idea by noting that the Watchers "will teach humankind information (suggested by their names) which they were not supposed to communicate to them. … The names … connect the angel names with what they taught: medicinal, magical, and astrological information that humanity did not know before this." VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 33, 36.

73

VanderKam, "Versions of the Angel Story in 1 Enoch 6–11," 175–176.

74

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 188.

75

Reflecting on this passage, Ida Fröhlich points out that "each Watcher [is] teaching the signs of the natural phenomenon that was included in his name." Fröhlich, "Mesopotamian Elements and the Watchers Traditions," in: *The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (eds. A. Kim Harkins, K. Coblentz Bautch, and J. C. Endres; Minneapolis, MI: Fortress Press, 2014) 11–24 at 13.

76

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 202.

77

These developments have received a rich afterlife in early Jewish lore. *Jub* 8:3 reports about Kainan who found an inscription which preserved "the Watchers' teaching by which they used to observe the omens of the sun, moon, and stars and every heavenly sign." J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols; CSCO, 510–11; Scriptores Aethiopici, 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 2.50.

78

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 444.

79

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 444.

80

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 444.

81

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 444.

82

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 444.

83

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 445.

84

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 445.

85

Scholars often translate שמיחזה as "my Name has seen," "the Name sees," or "he sees the Name." See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 152; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.67–68; S. Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ, 5.6; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1984) 516; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 119; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 179; M. Sokoloff, "Notes on the Aramaic Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 4," *Maarav* 1 (1978–1979) 197–224 at 207; D. Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation: The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch* (North Richland Hills: Bibal Press, 2004) 32; A. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1–4 in Early Jewish Literature* (WUNT, 2.198; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 120–121; S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary with Reference to Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Antecedents* (AOAT, 322; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005) 233–35; idem, "Noah's Library: Sources for 1 Enoch 6:11," *JSP* 15 (2006) 163–177 at 172–77. Scholars often interpret it as a reference to the divine Name. For example, Nickelsburg suggests that "the reference is to the name of 'my' God." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 179. Fossum proposes that "in the original myth, then, Shemyaza, whose name may mean 'He sees the Name' (שמיחזה), can have been described as successful in his attempt at capturing 'the

Hidden Name' from Michael." J. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord. Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (WUNT, 36; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985) 258.

86

A. A. Orlov, *Yahoel and Metatron: Aural Apocalypticism and the Origins of Early Jewish Mysticism* (TSAJ, 169; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017) 40–43.

87

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 198: Nickelsburg points out that "Hermani, whose name may have entered the onomasticon in 6:7 in connection with Mount Hermon, is mentioned here probably through another play on his name, חרם in the sense of 'curse.'" Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 198.

88

Kvanvig suggests that here "the art of the smith, which is presupposed in the making of weapons, was combined with magic." Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 454.

89

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 446.

90

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 446.

91

In his conclusion to the Enoch Seminar's volume devoted to the *Book of the Similitudes*, Paolo Sacchi writes: "In sum, we may observe that those scholars who have directly addressed the problem of dating the *Parables* all agree on a date around the time of Herod. Other participants of the conference not addressing the problem directly nevertheless agree with this conclusion." P. Sacchi, "The 2005 Camaldoli Seminar on the Parables of Enoch: Summary and Prospects for Future Research," in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting of the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 499–512 at 510. See also D. Suter, "Enoch in Sheol: Updating the Dating of the Book of Parables," in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 415–443; G. W. E. Nickelsburg and J. C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch. Chapters 37–82* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MI: Fortress, 2012) 58–63.

92

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 297.

93

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 297.

94

VanderKam points out that the angelic list shows "strong connections with the *Book of the Watchers*, since the angels enumerated in 69:2–3 are nearly identical with the ones in 6:7 (and partially present in 8:1–3)." J. C. VanderKam, "The Book of Parables within the Enoch Tradition," in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Parables of Enoch* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 81–99 at 96.

95

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 297.

96

Knibb points out that "this poem has been attached to a group of traditions about the descent of the Watchers and the secrets they revealed to humans (69:2–15), and more

precisely to a tradition about an otherwise unknown Kasbeʾel who apparently tricked the archangel Michael into revealing to him the divine Name so that it could be used in the oath sworn by the Watchers (69:13–15)." M. A. Knibb, "Enoch and Wisdom: Reflections on the Character of the Book of Parables," in: *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010* (ed. M. Nissinen; VTSup, 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 255–276 at 270.

97

On this, see J. Ben-Dov and E. Ratzon, "The Oath and the Name in 1 Enoch 69," *JSS* 60 (2015) 19–51 at 40–43.

98

About this unit, Knibb notes, "vv. 13–25 form an independent section which deals with the divine oath. This oath is held to have played a role in creation similar to that played elsewhere by Wisdom (cf. Prov 8: 22–31), and the power of this oath is described in vv. 15 ff. However, the verses which introduce the section (vv. 13–15) raise a number of problems which have not yet found entirely convincing solutions … . A partial solution to some of the problems of these verses is perhaps to be found in the assumption that two different oaths are involved here: (1) the oath sworn by the angels who came down to the earth in the days of Jared (vv. 13 ff.; cf. 6. 3–6); (2) the divine oath entrusted to Michael which was used by God in his act of creation (vv. 15 ff). If this view is correct, vv. 15–25 should probably be regarded as a secondary addition to the text." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.162.

99

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 304.

100

Such balancing properties of the divine Name/Oath can be illuminated through reference to a later description in *3 Enoch* 17:1–7 where various cosmological and natural phenomena are balanced by the powers of the divine Name: "R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you where water is suspended in the height of Raqiaʿ, where fire burns in the midst of hail; where lightnings flash in the midst of mountains of snow; where thunders rumble in the highest heights; where flame blazes in the midst of burning fire; where voices can be heard above thunder and earthquake. I went with him, and, taking me by his hand, he bore me up on his wings and showed me all these things. I saw water suspended in the height of the heaven of ʿArabot, through the power of the name Yah, I am that I am, and its fruits were descending from heaven and watering the surface of the earth, as it is written, From your palace you water the uplands, the earth is full of the fruit of your works. I saw fire, snow, and hailstones enclosed one within the other, without one destroying the other, through the power of the name A Consuming Fire, as it is written, 'For YHWH your God is a consuming fire.' I saw lightnings flashing in the midst of mountains of snow, without being quenched, through the power of the name Yah, YHWH the Everlasting Rock, as it is written, 'Yah, YHWH is the everlasting Rock.' I saw thunders and voices roaring in the midst of flames of fire, without being overwhelmed, through the power of the name Great God Almighty, as it is written, 'I am God Almighty.' I saw flames of fire flaring and burning in the midst of blazing fire without being swallowed up, through the power of the name A Hand upon the Throne of Yah, as it is written, 'And he said: a hand upon the throne of Yah.' I saw rivers of fire in the midst of rivers of water, and rivers of water in the midst of rivers of fire, through the power of the name He Keeps the Peace, as it is written, 'He keeps the peace in his heights.' He keeps peace between fire and water, between hail and fire, between wind and cloud, between tremors and comets." P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985) 1.223–315 at 1.292–293.

101

Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation*, 130. Emphasis mine.

102

It also suggests that the fallen Watchers' binding themselves with the oath at their descent may serve as an "organizational" force that binds them as a group.

103

Olson proffers the possibility that the "'holy ones' to whom Kasbe'el revealed the *Beqa* oath are the very angels who later became the fallen Watchers of *1 Enoch* 6–7." Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation*, 271.

104

Nickelsburg sees a connection between the oath of Kasbeʾel and the oath sworn by the fallen angels in *1 Enoch* 6. He suggests that Kasbeʾel "is the 'chief of the oath' that was sworn by the rebel angels as they conspired to descend to earth (see 6:4–5). Thus, in his role as 'chief of the oath' Kasbeʾel corresponds roughly to Shemihazah in chap. 6." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 306. The fallen Watchers' oath may serve as an inverse counterpart of the oath by which the luminaries keep faith with one another. Ben-Dov points out that "the heart of the matter lies in [*1 Enoch*] 41:5, according to which the sun and moon stick to their original course according to the oath that they had taken: 'and they do not leave the course, and they neither extend nor diminish their course. and they keep faith with one another according to the oath that they had sworn.' In this verse, as in [*1 Enoch*] 43:2, the luminaries keep faith with one another in what seems to be a mutual oath they had taken towards each other." Ben-Dov and Ratzon, "The Oath and the Name," 43.

105

Cf. *1 Enoch* 69:3: "These are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and the leaders of their hundreds, and the leaders of their fifties, and the leaders of their tens." Alexandria Frisch suggests that "the fact that the Watchers have distinct leaders and are organized in group of ten led by a *dekadarch* suggests a military formation." A. Frisch, *The Danielic Discourse on Empire in Second Temple Literature* (JSJSS, 176; Leiden: Brill, 2016) 66. Badalanova Geller also notices that "the hierarchical organization of the Watchers band … follows the lore of Hellenistic warfare tactics, with military units consisting of ten men (*dekas*), each commanded by an appointed *dekadarch* … . a similar pattern is attested in Deuteronomy 1:15, according to which the Israelite camp is likewise described in decimal military terms." F. Badalanova Geller, "Unde malum? The Watchers Mythologeme in the Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch," *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 9.1 (2021) 1–45 at 15. On the decimal military units, see G. Wrightson, "To Use or Not to Use: The Practical and Historical Reliability of Asclepiodotus' 'Philosophical' Tactical Manual," in: *Ancient Warfare: Introducing Current Research, Vol 1* (ed. G. Lee, H. Whittaker, and G. Wrightson; Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015) 65–93 at 81–82.

106

Ida Fröhlich notes that the Watchers "form a military order, each Watcher having his strictly determined place (*maʿamad*)." I. Fröhlich, "Stars and Spirits: Heavenly Bodies in Ancient Jewish Aramaic Tradition," *Aramaic Studies* 13 (2015) 111–127 at 123. In another article, she argues that the Watchers' group is "characterized by a strict military organization, the two hundred Watchers being ordered in a military hierarchy in groups of ten, each group having its chief, and the whole army having Shemihazah as their leader." I. Fröhlich, "The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch)," *Henoch* 33 (2011) 6–26 at 13. She also draws attention to possible military connotations behind the Watchers' oath by pointing out that "the military oath is a common institution of armies, ancient and modern." Fröhlich, "The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch)," 13. On military arrangements of the Watchers, see also B. A. Levine, "From the Aramaic Enoch Fragments: The Semantics of Cosmography," *JJS* 33 (1982) 311–26.

107

Fröhlich suggests that “the strict hierarchy among these figures may suggest astral and cosmological connotations.” Fröhlich, “Stars and Spirits,” 123.

108

A similar tendency can be discerned in the organization of the unfallen angels. Reflecting on the angelology of the *Astronomical Book*, Klaus Koch argues that it “presents an exact order of the starry sky akin to a military army under the absolute command of God himself. A thoroughgoing angelization is combined with a strict hierarchy: at the top Uriel, then 4 ‘*toparchs*’ for the seasons and the four additional days, 12 ‘*taxiarchs*’ for the stars of the months, and 360 ‘*chiliarchs*’ for the stars of the 360 normal days. The system is reminiscent of Egyptian and Greek *chronokrators*.” K. Koch, “The Astral Laws as the Basis of Time, Universal History, and the Eschatological Turn in the Astronomical Book and the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch,” in: *The Early Enoch Literature* (ed. G. Boccaccini and J. J. Collins; JSJSS, 121; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 119–137 at 124–125.

109

The list of the fallen angels in *1 Enoch* 69:2 is slightly different from *1 Enoch* 6–7 as some angels occupy different places in both lists.

110

On these names, see L. Gry, “Mystique gnostique (juive et chrétienne) en finale des Paraboles d’Hénoch,” *Le Muséon* 52 (1939) 337–378. D. C. Olson, “The Wicked Angels of 1 En. 69:4–15: Part 1: New Evidence and Proposals for the Names; Part 2: The Nature and Purpose of the List,” *JSP* 31(3) (2022) 133–164.

111

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 297–304.

112

Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation*, 126.

113

Olson, “The Wicked Angels of 1 En. 69:4–15,” 141.

114

Nickelsburg interprets the name of angel Pēnēmue as the Face of Death, arguing that this angelic figure serves a foil to the archangel Phanuel (“the face of God”). He argues that, “*pēnēmu’e* is a slight corruption of the Heb. פני מות (*penê mût*, ‘the face(s) of death’). (The dropping of the final letter *taw* involves much less of a corruption than some attested in 6:7.) The angel’s association with death is explicit in v. 11. There are two possible explanations for this name. First, the angel is a foil to the Parables’ archangel Phanuel (‘the face of God’), whom the Parables explain as ‘the one who is in charge of the repentance to hope of those who inherit everlasting *life* (40:9).” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 303.

115

On the divine Face/Presence as the conduit of divine knowledge, see the chapter “The divine Face as the hypostasis of divine knowledge” in: A. A. Orlov, *Embodiment of Divine Knowledge in Early Judaism* (London: Routledge, 2021) 83–111.

116

Geza Vermes suggests that the angelic name, “Phanuel,” “is dependent on the Peniel/Penuel of Genesis 32.” G. Vermes, “The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Jewish Studies,” *JJS* 26 (1975) 1–14 at 13. Jonathan Smith supports Vermes’ position. In his opinion, “it is most likely that the name Phanuel is to be derived from the place name Peniel/Penuel (the face of God) in Genesis 32:30, and therefore may be related to the title ‘a man seeing God.’” J. Z. Smith, “Prayer of Joseph,” in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New

York: Doubleday, 1983–85) 2.699–714 at 2.709. Saul Olyan also argues that "the angel Penuel was either derived from texts such Exod 13:14–15 and Deut 4:37, where the divine presence is given figurative treatment, or it emerged from the exegesis of Gen 32:25–33." S. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (TSAJ, 36; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993) 108–109 On Phanuel as the mediator of the divine Presence, see A. A. Orlov, *The Greatest Mirror: Heavenly Counterparts in the Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (Albany: SUNY, 2017) 24.

117

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 297.

118

Reed points out that "contrary to the elevation of the scribe and the celebration of scribalism in the *Book of the Watchers*, we are told that Penume corrupted humankind by teaching them how to write." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 114–115.

119

Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Watchers," 354ff.

120

On this, see Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Watchers," 351.

121

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 273.

122

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 283.

123

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 283.

124

1 Enoch 72:1 reads, "The book about the motion of the heavenly luminaries all as they are in their kinds, their jurisdiction, their time, their name, their origins, and their months which Uriel, the holy angel who was with me (and) who is their leader, showed me." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 409; *1 Enoch* 74:1–2 reads, "Another course and law I saw for it; by that law it carries out its monthly course. All this Uriel the holy angel who is the leader of them all showed me." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 440.

125

Kasbe'el is usually traced to כזבאל ("lie of El") or כשפאל ("sorcery of El"). On this, see Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 246; Olson, "The Wicked Angels of 1 En. 69:4–15," 136–137.

126

About the possible date of the *Astronomical Book*, Nickelsburg notes that it "has its roots in the Persian period and is probably the oldest of the Enochic traditions." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 7–8.

127

One can detect such correspondences even inside of the Watchers' traditions themselves. Amar Annus points out that "the Jewish tradition concerning Watchers was not uniform. There are variant stories that depict their motives and activities more positively. The Book of Jubilees preserves a tradition relating that God originally dispatched the Watchers to earth for the purpose of instructing humanity in proper ritual and ethical conduct. … There exist a fair number of texts, according to which the Watchers were sent by God for the purpose of positively instructing and looking after humanity." A. Annus, "On the Origin of Watchers: A

Comparative Study of the Antediluvian Wisdom in Mesopotamian and Jewish Traditions," *JSP* 19 (2010) 277–320 at 291. On this, see also J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992) 96; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 196.

128

1 Enoch 20:1–8 reads, "These are the names of the holy angels who watch. Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of the world and Tartarus. Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of the spirits of men. Reuel, one of the holy angels, who takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries. Michael, one of the holy angels, who has been put in charge of the good ones of the people. Sariel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of the spirits who sin against the spirit. Gabriel, one of the holy angels, who is in charge of paradise and the serpents and the cherubim. Remiel, one of the holy angels, whom God has put in charge of them that rise. The names of the seven archangels." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 294.

129

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 294.

130

A. Y. Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020) 230. In another section of her study, Reed points out that "when seen from a synchronic perspective, the archangelic list in *1 Enoch* 20 is also significant inasmuch as it conveys exact knowledge about certain named spirits, while simultaneously using knowledge about such spirits to organize other information about the cosmos … . the angelic status of the named figures is made more explicit, and they are used to map an even broader vision of the bounds of the cosmological knowledge known to – and textualized by – Enoch and his Jewish scribal heirs." Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism*, 235.

131

On the leadership terminology in the *Astronomical Book*, see M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch* (WMANT, 68; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1994) 209–213; J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years. Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ, 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008) 25; Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 393–409; Levine, "From the Aramaic Enoch Fragments: The Semantics of Cosmography," 311–26.

132

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 457.

133

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 550–555; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.275.

134

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 456.

135

M. J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSS, 11; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992) 93–94.

136

Schnabel points out that "the fulfilment of this law by nature can become a model and example for man." E. J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Tradition-Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics* (WUNT, 2.16; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985) 107. Christine Hayes also suggests that "while *1 Enoch* contains no developed characterization of the revealed Torah, wisdom does serve as a bridge that enables the regularities of the cosmic order to influence the norms guiding human behavior." C. Hayes,

What's Divine about Divine Law? Early Perspectives (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015) 100. On the laws of Moses as copies of the laws of nature, see H. Najman, "The Law of Nature and the Authority of Mosaic Law." *SPhA* 11 (1999) 55–73; idem, "A Written Copy of the Law of Nature: An Unthinkable Paradox?" *SPhA* 15 (2003) 54–63.

137

Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.275.

138

See, for example, *1 Enoch* 82:15 where "at the beginning of the year Melkeyal rises first and rules." Reflecting on *1 Enoch* 82:15, Ben-Dov poses the question if "the leaders are stars themselves? This seems to be the case in 82:15, which states that: 'At the beginning of the year Melkeyal rises (*yaśarraq*).' While the name Melkeyal could well refer to an angelic being, the verb *śaraqa* is regularly used to depict the rising of the luminaries." Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 25. One can see similar parallels in the fallen Watchers, who are envisioned both as the guardians and the heavenly bodies that deviate from the cosmological laws (cf. *1 Enoch* 18:15). On the Watchers as heavenly bodies, see Fröhlich, "The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch)," 13–15.

139

VanderKam notices that this chapter "differs in content and vocabulary from the previous chapters." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 522. In another study, he argues that "key items of vocabulary and basic features of content separate [chapter 80] from the astronomical portions of the book (72–79; 82:4–20). The chapter contradicts the astronomical sections by claiming that nature itself will change in the days of the sinners— a time that seems to precede the new creation mentioned in 72:1." VanderKam, "1 Enoch 80," 354. Reflecting on VanderKam's argument, Ben-Dov writes, "one wonders, however, whether we may allow an apocalyptic text to view nature as both stable and fragile at the same time. It seems to me that this ambiguous conceptualization of the natural order is a cornerstone of the apocalyptic imagination." J. Ben-Dov, "Review of: 1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 37–82. By George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MI: Fortress Press, 2012," *DSD* 20 (2013) 143–48 at 148.

140

For the question of whether chapter 80 represents an original component of the *Astronomical Book*, see the comprehensive discussion in Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 359–365.

141

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 521; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.265–266.

142

M. Popović, "Networks of Scholars: The Transmission of Astronomical and Astrological Learning between Babylonians, Greeks and Jews," in: *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature* (ed. J. Ben-Dov and S. L. Sanders; New York: New York University Press, 2014) 151–191 at 137.

143

VanderKam points out that "having established that in the days of the sinners the luminaries will transgress their laws, the writer for the first time turns to the sinners themselves in vv. 7–8. Their ignorance of astronomical laws will lead them into the further error of idolatry. The reader is not told who will cause this change, but the law of the stars 'will be closed' to sinners in the sense that they will not understand it. Here the expected term for the stellar ordinance *(šerʾāt*) is employed. As many heads of stars corrupt their prescribed path (v. 6), so sinners will have a faulty understanding of their ways." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 529.

144

Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.265.

145

Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.265.

146

Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.265–66.

147

Olson argues that these verses "are clearly satiric. The universe is not collapsing; it only seems that way to fools who follow wrong calendar and lag behind the true reckoning of the seasons." Olson, *Enoch. A New Translation*, 176.

148

J. C. VanderKam, "*1 Enoch* 80 within the *Book of the Luminaries*," in: *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech* (ed. F. García Martínez et al.; STDJ, 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 333–356 at 343.

149

1 Enoch 22:12: "And this has been separated for the spirits of them that make suit, who make disclosure about the destruction, when they were murdered in the days of the sinners (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν)." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 300; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 34.

150

1 Enoch 102:5: "And do not grieve because your souls have descended into Sheol with grief, and your body of flesh did not fare in your life according to your piety, because the days that you lived were days of sinners (αἱ ἡμέραι ἃς ἦτε ἡμέραι ἦσαν ἁμαρτωλῶν) and curses on the earth." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 511; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 41.

151

VanderKam, "*1 Enoch* 80," 342–343.

152

On this process, see J. M. Scott, *On Earth as in Heaven: The Restoration of Sacred Time and Sacred Space in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSS, 91; Leiden: Brill, 2005) 212–219.

153

Koch, "The Astral Laws as the Basis of Time," 128.

154

L. Stuckenbruck, "Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment," in: *The Blessing of Enoch: 1 Enoch and Contemporary Theology* (ed. P. F. Esler; Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2017) 111–123 at 118.

155

Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 89–90.

156

Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 91.

157

VanderKam, "1 Enoch 80," 354.

158

VanderKam points out that "*1 Enoch* 18:15; 21:5 speak of stars that transgressed the divine

command." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 528, footnote 34. On this, see also K. Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: "No One Has Seen What I Have Seen"* (JSJSS, 81; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 143–151.

159

1 Enoch 18:15–16: "The stars that are rolling over in the fire, these are they that transgressed the command of the Lord in the beginning of their rising, for they did not come out in their appointed times. And he was angry with them and bound them until the time of the consummation of their sins — ten thousand years." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276.

160

1 Enoch 21:5–6: "Then Uriel said to me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and he was their leader, he said to me, 'Enoch, why do you inquire, and why are you eager for the truth? These are the stars of heaven that transgressed the command of the Lord; they have been bound here until ten thousand years are fulfilled — the time of their sins.'" Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 297.

161

1 Enoch 86:1: "And again I saw with my eyes as I was sleeping. I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and was eating and pasturing among those cattle." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 364. *1 Enoch* 86:3: "And again I saw in the vision, and I looked to heaven, and behold, I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 364.

162

VanderKam points out that "the future days of the sinners will witness fundamental disruptions in three areas: meteorology and agriculture (vv. 2–3); luminaries (vv. 4–6); human understanding (vv. 7–8)." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 523.

163

J. Hallévi, "Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d'Hénoch," *Journal Asiatique* 9 (1867) 352–395 at 387–390.

164

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 527.

165

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 521.

166

VanderKam, "1 Enoch 80," 333–355.

167

Charles, for instance, has suggested that the intention of adding chapter 80 was to "give an ethical turn to a purely scientific treatise, and so furnish it with some fitness for its present collocation." R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893) 188.

168

The text has survived completely only in its Slavonic translation. In 2009 at the fifth Enoch Seminar in Naples, Joost Hagen presented Coptic fragments, which he identified as part of *2 Enoch*. Hagen's English reconstruction of these fragments containing passages from *2 Enoch* 36, 39, 37, 40, and 42 was published in the proceedings of the fifth Enoch Seminar in: J. L. Hagen, "No Longer 'Slavonic' Only: 2 Enoch Attested in Coptic from Nubia," in: *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only* (eds. A.A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini, and J. Zurawski; SJS, 4; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 7–34. The original Coptic texts, however, remain unpublished after 14 years since their identification. This and other factors have led some scholars to express

their skepticism about Hagen's discovery. For example, Christfried Böttrich suggests that despite "Joost Hagen's discovery has been one of the most stimulating contributions to *2 Enoch* over the last years … . the proof of this find is far from sure. Before using it as a given fact, scholars should pull out all the stops to make it invulnerable. There is still much more to be done … . I want to be sure that it is really *2 Enoch* and not perhaps something like a cuckoo's egg." C. Böttrich, "The Angel of Tartarus and the Supposed Coptic Fragments of 2 Enoch," *Early Christianity* 4 (2013) 509–521 at 520–521. Badalanova Geller draws attention to some problems with Hagen's English translation. She notices that "the preliminary translation of the Coptic fragments prepared by Hagen … is tantalizingly dependent upon the English translation … made by Pennington … . Hagen offers a reading that is heavily and profoundly reconstructed on the basis of Pennington's translation exclusively … . These types of conclusions – based ONLY on the English translation of the studied fragments – are far from substantiated." Badalanova Geller, "Unde malum?," 3. Badalanova Geller further suggests that "in the light of the above considerations it would be safe to conclude that, before the publication of *editio princeps* of the Coptic fragments from Qasr Ibrim, and the thorough examination of these texts against their (presumed) Church Slavonic counterparts, *2 Enoch* remains 'Slavonic only.'" Badalanova Geller, "Unde malum?," 4. In my analysis I will be making occasional references to Hagen's English reconstruction of the Coptic fragments. Yet, in light of the aforementioned concerns, my use of the Coptic fragments in this study will have only provisional nature, and I will not make any arguments based on this evidence.

169

On the date of *2 Enoch*, see R. H. Charles and W. R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896) xxvi; R. H. Charles and N. Forbes, "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," in: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; ed. R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) 2.429; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 114; C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ, 5; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995) 813; A. A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (TSAJ, 107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 323–328; idem, "The Sacerdotal Traditions of 2 Enoch and the Date of the Text," in: *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only* (eds. A. A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini, and J. Zurawski; SJS, 4; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 103–116.

170

F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985) 1.91–221 at 1.113.

171

G. Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch* (SJS, 6; Leiden: Brill, 2013) 54.

172

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.114. The shorter recension offers a slightly different definition of the angels' sins: "They are evil rebels against the Lord, who did not listen to the voice of the Lord, but they consulted their own will." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 115.

173

Charles notes that "the angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, exactly as in the Ethiopic Enoch 13:4." Charles and Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, 6.

174

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.130–132.

175

Badalanova Geller points out that "in both *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch* the summit of Mount Hermon is designated as a spatial mark of iniquity, leading to total desecration of the Universe." F. Badalanova Geller, "Celestial Landscapes and Heavenly Ascents: The Slavonic Book of the

Holy Secrets of Enoch the Just (2 Enoch)," in: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi Codices. Selected Papers from the Conference "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Nag Hammadi Codices" in Berlin, 20–22 July 2018* (eds. J. D. BeDuhn and D. M. Burns; NHMS, 103; Leiden: Brill, 2022) 196–237 at 223.

176

On this reformulation, see A. A. Orlov "The Watchers of Satanail: The Fallen Angels Traditions in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," in: A. A. Orlov, *Selected Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha* (SVTP, 23; Leiden: Brill, 2009) 134–164. On Satan in the Second Temple pseudepigrapha, see A. T. Wright, *Satan and the Problem of Evil: From the Bible to the Early Church Fathers* (Minneapolis, MI: Fortress, 2022).

177

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 31:4–7 reads, "The devil is of the lowest places. And he will become a demon, because he fled from heaven; Sotona, because his name was Satanail. In this way he became different from the angels. His nature did not change, (but) his thought did since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed. And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin which he sinned previously. And that is why he thought up the scheme against Adam. In such a form he entered paradise, and corrupted Eve." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.154.

178

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.148.

179

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 118.

180

Nickelsburg suggests that "the expression 'holy angels' here and in each of the subsequent verses is suspicious. We should probably read 'watchers and holy ones,' the term being slightly paraphrased here." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 295. Collins points out that "watchers and holy ones are likewise mentioned together in *1 Enoch* 12:2, 22:6, and 93:2 (Aramaic). The name is not confined to fallen angels. Several passages in *1 Enoch* speak of angels who 'keep watch' (20:1, the four archangels; 39:12–13, 71:7) … . The basic meaning of the term seems to be 'watchful ones' and may reflect the widespread association of angels with stars." J. J. Collins, "The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men," in: *Sacred Marriages: The Divine–Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity* (eds. M. Nissinen and R. Uro; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008) 259–74 at 263–264.

181

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 4:2. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.110. Reflecting on this numeral, Charles notes that "in *1 Enoch* 6:5 this is the number of the apostatizing angels." Charles and Forbes, "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," 2.432.

182

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.131. Fröhlich suggests that "the reference to the 'two hundred angels' in the first heaven is, in all probability, to the Watchers, without naming them." Fröhlich, "The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch)," 21.

183

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.133–135.

184

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.132–134.

185

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 90.

186

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 90.

187

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.132.

188

Reflecting on this feature, Badalanova Geller notes that "of paramount importance for the logic of the narrative in the Slavonic Apocalypse of Enoch, however, appears to be the portrayal of the Watchers as 'giants/colossi/titans.' The narrative may vary concerning other details, but never about this one. It is, in fact, the hallmark of the Slavonic version of the Enochic corpus. Indeed, whilst in *1 Enoch* 7:2–5 the Watchers themselves are not depicted as giants, in contrast to their offspring, in *2 Enoch* both fathers and sons share one and the same trait – that of the largeness of their stature. In a tantalizingly brief but emphatically straightforward statement, Enoch testifies that the countenance of the Watchers is 'like the countenance of human beings, and their vastness resembles that of vast giants.'" Badalanova Geller, "Unde malum?," 16.

189

Slav. строят, творят. Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 90–91.

190

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 19:2: "And these groups carry out and carefully study (изучает) the movements of the stars, and the revolution of the sun and the phases of the moon, and the well-being of the cosmos." Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 90.

191

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 19:5 reads, "and angels who record all human souls, and all their deeds, and their lives before the face of the Lord." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.132.

192

On heavenly beings' control of various cosmological phenomena, see H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT, 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1951) 25, 101–103; Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 314–315; C. A. Newsom, "Angels: Old Testament," in: *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D. N. Freedman; 6 vols; New York: Doubleday, 1992) 1:248–253 at 252; M. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (TSAJ, 34; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992) 262–265; M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomies and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (STDJ, 67; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 195–197; A. Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars: A History of an Idea* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) 56–62, 91–93; K. P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (AGAJU, 55; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 30–31, 131–139. Davidson notes that "*1 Enoch* 20 preserves a formal list of seven archangels and each has a particular realm of responsibility (§3.4), such as the care of thunder and earthquakes (Uriel), the blessings of Israel (Michael), Paradise (Gabriel) and the luminaries (Raguel). In *1 Enoch* 18:4–5, angels are possibly associated with the winds. In the *Astronomical Book*, it is Uriel who is in charge of all the luminaries (*1 Enoch* 72:1), and the result is that all their movements, and with them the 364-day calendar, are perfectly coordinated (*1 Enoch* 75:3). *1 Enoch* 82:7–20 supplies a list of various angels who are over the stars. They are assigned in such a way that the calendar is established till eternity (*1 Enoch* 72:1), with its seasons, months, epagomenal days and so on (§4.4.2). For the authors of these passages, the worlds of nature and humanity are controlled by God through the angels. A similar idea appears in the *Book of Dreams* with the seventy angels, each of whom has authority during seventy periods of history from the Babylonian captivity till the eschaton

(§5.4.2.5). All of these angels who serve by assisting in the operation of the cosmos can be called ministering angels. In the *Book of the Watchers* and the *Astronomical Book*, their presence serves to guarantee to the reader the orderliness of the cosmos in a troubled world. God is really in control as he mediates his will through his personal agents. Such a view was common in the Judaism of our period." Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 314.

193

H. S. Kvanvig, "Cosmic Laws and Cosmic Imbalance: Wisdom, Myth and Apocalyptic in Early Enochic Writings," in: *The Early Enoch Literature* (eds. G. Boccaccini and J. J. Collins; JSJSS, 121; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 139–158 at 158.

194

Schnabel points out that "the cosmological parts of *1 Enoch* emphasize that the world is moved by heavenly beings (18,1–5; cf. 75,1). All days and seasons are under the dominion of mighty angels (72,3; 75,1; 80,1; 82,4,7–10). These heavenly spirits thereby fulfill a 'law' which had been given to them: the 'laws' and 'functions' of the stars (33,3–4), the 'law' of the sun and moon (73,1), the 'law' of the winds (76,14), 'the whole law of the stars of heaven' (79,1–2), the 'entire law of the stars' (80,7). This law is binding: the stars (= angels) which rose too late (i.e., which did not comply with their law) are being punished (18,11–16; 21,1–6; 80,1–6; cf. 41,5–6)." Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, 106–107.

195

Popović, *Reading the Human Body*, 195–196. See also Fröhlich, "Stars and Spirits," 123.

196

3 Enoch 17:4–7 reads, "Under them is Galgalliʾel, the Prince, who is in charge of the orb of the sun, and with him are 96 angels, mighty and honored, who make the sun's orb run 365,000 parasangs through Raqiaʿ every day. Under then is ʾOpanniʾel, the Prince, who is in charge of the globe of the moon, and with him are 88 angels who make the moon's globe run 354,000 parasangs every night, whenever the moon stands in the east at its turning point. When does the moon stand in the east at its turning point? Answer: On the 15th day of every month. Under them is Rahaṭiʾel, the Prince, who is in charge of the constellations, and with him are 72 angels, great and honored. Why is his name called Rahaṭiʾel? Because he makes the constellations run 339,000 parasangs in their cycles and orbits each night, from the east to the west and from the west to the east. For the Holy One, blessed be he, made for them all, for the sun, the moon, and the constellations, a tent to move in by night from the west to the east. Under them is Kokabiʾel, the Prince, who is in charge of all the stars, and with him are 365,000 myriads of ministering angels, great and honored, who make the stars run from city to city and from state to state in the Raqiaʿ of the heavens." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.269–270.

197

On the connections between the *apkallus* and the Watchers, see also Annus, "On the Origin of Watchers," 277–320; J. J. Collins, *Worthless Mysteries: Forbidden Knowledge, Culture Heroes, and Enochic Motif of Angelic Instruction* (Ph.D. diss.; University of Virginia, 2011) 46–47; A. D. Kilmer, "The Mesopotamian Counterparts of the Biblical Nepilim," in: *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday July 28, 1985* (eds. E. W. Conrad and E. G. Newing; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987) 39–44. H. S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988) 314–315; Roark, *A Crisis of Wisdom*, 147–149.

198

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 523. In another part of his study, Kvanvig points out that "the *apkallus* had a cosmic function; they were cosmic guardians. They were both in charge of the me, and they were in charge of people's destinies. In the last role, they are also described in a Babylonian myth where they are the custodians of the tablets of destinies." Kvanvig, *Primeval*

History, 117.

199

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 523. Annus points out that "as with the Mesopotamian *apkallus*, who 'ensure the correct functioning of the plans of heaven and earth,' in the *Bīt Mēseri* text, the full catalogue of angels' names in *1 Enoch* 6:7 indicates that 'the chiefs are high angels in charge of the orderly functioning of the heavenly and earthly phenomena: in heaven, not Uriel to be sure, but the angels over sun, moon, stars, shooting stars, thunder, and lightning; on earth, the angels in charge of sea and mountains, as well as the crucial rainy season and its clouds and rain.'" Annus, "On the Origin of Watchers," 291.

200

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 441.

201

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 156.

202

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 442–443.

203

On angels' association with cosmological phenomena in other Enochic booklets, including the *Book of Dreams* and the *Epistle of Enoch*, see Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 148–150.

204

Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 144.

205

Drawnel suggests that "the presentation of Uriel as the leader of the heavenly luminaries stems from the theological perspective adopted by the final redactor of the *AAB*, according to whom the heavenly luminaries have to be subordinated to the Lord of the entire creation. It does not seem that this perspective was present in the early version of the *AAB*." Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 403.

206

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 456.

207

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 446.

208

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*,446.

209

VanderKam proposes that "it is likely that *Jubilees* was written at some point between c. the 170s (or even 164) and c. 125 B.C.E. (the upper date limit for the earliest copy). It is difficult to be more precise than that." J. C. VanderKam, *Jubilees* (Hermeneia; 2 vols.; Minneapolis, MI: Fortress Press, 2018) 1.37–38.

210

Jub. 2:2 reads, "For on the first day he created the heavens that are above, the earth, the waters, and all the spirits who serve before him, namely: the angels of the presence; the angels of holiness; the angels of the spirits of fire; the angels of the spirits of the winds; the angels of the spirits of the clouds, of darkness, snow, hail, and frost; the angels of the sounds, the thunders, and the lightnings; and the angels of the spirits of cold and heat, of winter, spring, autumn, and summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens, on earth, and in every (place)." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.7–8.

211

On the correspondences between angelic names and areas of instruction, see also Reed, "Heavenly Ascent," 55–56.

212

Kvanvig, *Primeval History*, 448.

213

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 181.

214

Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 140.

215

Anathea Portier-Young points out that the Watchers "are figures charged with maintaining and displaying the order of the cosmos, marking time and seasons, demarcating earth from heaven, human from divine, and human from angelic. Their transgressions destabilize order and corrupt knowledge." A. Portier-Young, "Symbolic Resistance in the Book of the Watchers," in: *The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (eds. A. Kim Harkins, K. Coblentz Bautch, and J. C. Endres; Minneapolis, MI: Fortress Press, 2014) 39–49 at 41.

216

Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels," 353.

217

By their unrighteousness the Watchers themselves became embodied "worthless" or "rejected" secrets: *1 Enoch* 16:3: "You were (once) in heaven, but not all the mysteries (of heaven) are open to you, and you (only) know the rejected mysteries." (Isaac); "You were in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you; but a stolen mystery you learned." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 267. Such labeling found in the Ethiopic text may signify that when the "embodied secret" abandons the spatial and temporal assignment/laws given to him – it becomes a "worthless secret."

218

Stone, "Enoch's Revelations?," 255. Macaskill points out that "the divinely authorized wisdom given to Enoch stands in sharp contrast to the 'worthless mystery' revealed by Asael." G. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (JSJSS, 115; Leiden, Boston, 2007) 36.

219

The Greek version of *1 Enoch* 16:3 reads: "καὶ πᾶν μυστήριον ὃ οὐκ ἀνεκαλύφθη ὑμῖν καὶ μυστήριον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγενημένον ἔγνωτε." Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 30.

220

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 267.

221

Later Jewish and Christian accounts also often link the Watchers' compromised ontology with their illicit descent and teachings. One example can be found in *LAB* 34:4: "Because in that time before they were condemned, magic was revealed by angels and they would have destroyed the age without measure; and because they had transgressed, it happened that the angels did not have the power; and when they were judged, then the power was not given over to others." Athenagoras' *Legatio pro Christianis* 25 also speaks about the Watchers' changes: "These angels, then, who fell from heaven busy themselves about the air and the earth and are no longer able to rise to the realms above the heavens. The souls of the giants

are the demons who wander about the world. Both angels and demons produce movements – demons' movements which are akin to the natures they received, and angels movements which are akin to the lusts with which they were possessed." *Athenagoras: Legatio and De resurrectione* (ed. W. R. Schoedel; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 61. The *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 1–4 suggests that the fallen angels' heavenly condition was changed and they were endowed with the evil inclination, an entity that the angels usually don't possess: "When the generation of Enosh arose and practiced idolatry and when the generation of the flood arose and corrupted their actions, the Holy One – Blessed be He – was grieved that He had created man, as it is said, 'And God repented that he created man, and He grieved at heart.' Forthwith arose two angels, whose names were Shemhazai and Azael, and said before Him: 'O Lord of the universe, did we not say unto Thee when Thou didst create Thy world, Do not create man?' The Holy One – Blessed be He – said to them: 'Then what shall become of the world?' They said before Him: 'We will suffice (Thee) instead of it.' He said: 'It is revealed and (well) known to me that if peradventure you had lived in that (earthly) world, the evil inclination would have ruled you just as much as it rules over the sons of man, but you would be more stubborn than they.' They said before Him: 'Give us Thy sanction and let us descend and dwell among the creatures and then Thou shall see how we shall sanctify Thy name.' He said to them: 'Descend and dwell ye among them.' Forthwith the Holy One allowed the evil inclination (יצר הרע) to rule over them, as soon as they descended. When they beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to corrupt themselves with them, as it is said, 'When the sons of God saw the daughters of man, they could not restrain their inclination.'" Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 327. One can see that the endowment with "evil desire" or "evil inclination" (Heb. יצר הרע) is connected in the *Midrash* to the antagonists' descent when the former celestial citizens cease to be angelic beings and became the fallen Watchers. It is also noteworthy that just like in the case with humans it is the deity that endows them with *yetzer*. The passage clearly states that God allowed the evil inclination to rule over the fallen angels, "as soon as they descended." *Zohar* III.208a also speaks about the Watchers' ontological change: "Once He created Adam, and he sinned and was sentenced before Him, Uzza and Aza'el came. They said to Him, 'We have an opening to criticize You. Look, the human that You made sinned against You!' … What did the blessed Holy One do? He cast them down from their holy rung in heaven … . None of those angels above exists, or can exist, except by supernal light illumining them, sustaining them. If that light is cut off from them, they cannot endure. All the more so, these – who were cast down by the blessed Holy One and from whom that light above was cut off – for their radiance changed. And when they descended, and were dominated by the world's atmosphere, they changed to another rung." D. C. Matt, *The Zohar: Pritzker Edition* (12 vols.; Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003–2017) 9.458–459.

222

Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels," 354. In another work, Stone offers further reflections on "the correlation between the status of the revealer and the nature of the knowledge" by pointing out that "when the revealers, that is, the fallen angels, descend from heaven to earth, their status is ultimately reduced to earth-bound, evil spirits (15:6–9), and their originally heavenly knowledge is reduced to magic, divination, and misapplied metal-working. Here, the status of the demonic revealers determines the nature of the revelation. The inverse is also true: the status of the angel-like visionary recipient determines what he is able to perceive. This bears out our idea that Enoch had to be almost completely angelified in order to receive heavenly knowledge, just as the fallen angels are demonized and can reveal only black knowledge." Stone, "Enoch's Revelations?," 255–256.

223

Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels," 354. Emphasis mine.

224

Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels,” 357.

225

A passage found in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 Enoch* 93:2) succinctly summarizes the different ways that divine knowledge is harvested. In this text the seventh antediluvian patriarch Enoch relays the revelations that he acquires from the heavenly vision, the words of the holy angels, and the tablets of heaven.

226

J. C. VanderKam, “Open and Closed Eyes in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90),” in: *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (ed. H. Najman and J. H. Newman; JSJSS, 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 279–292 at 280.

227

A. A. Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire: Theologies of Resistance in Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011) 366.

228

Reed points out that, for example, “the *Book of the Watchers* claims sight as the basis for Enoch’s totality of understanding of cosmic realities in his tours of heaven and earth.” Reed, “Gendering Heavenly Secrets?” 138.

229

1 Enoch 19:3.

230

On this motif, see B. Ego, “Vergangenheit im Horizont eschatologischer Hoffnung: Die Tiervision (1 Hen 85–90) als Beispiel apolkalyptischer Geschichtskonzeption,” in: *Die antike Historiographie und die Anfänge der christlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (ed. E.-M. Becker; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005) 171–195 at 178–180; C. Newsom, “Enoch 83–90: The Historical Résumé as Biblical Exegesis.” Unpublished Seminar Paper. Harvard University, 1975; Nickelsburg, “Excursus: Blindness and Straying as Apostasy and the Opening of Israel’s Eyes as Revelation,” in Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 380–381; D. C. Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch: “All Nations Shall Be Blessed”* (SVTP, 24; Leiden: Brill, 2013) 66ff; G. Reese, *Die Geschichte Israels in der Auffassung des frühen Judentums: eine Untersuchung der Tiervision und der Zehnwochenapokalypse des äthiopischen Henochbuches, der Geschichtsdarstellung der Assumptio Mosis und der des 4Esrabuches* (BBB, 123; Berlin: Philo, 1999) 27; P. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (SBLEJL, 4; Atlanta: Scholars, 1993) 292–293; VanderKam, “Open and Closed Eyes in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90),” 279–292.

231

For example, VanderKam suggests that “the writer expresses the idea that God and Israel are in a proper relationship by saying the sheep’s (Israel’s) eyes were opened, and he articulates the notion that they are not in a proper relationship by saying the sheep’s eyes were closed or blinded.” VanderKam, “Open and Closed Eyes in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90),” 280.

232

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 380.

233

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 381.

234

Olson, *A New Reading*, 66.

235

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 355.

236

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 379.

237

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 380–381.

238

VanderKam, "Open and Closed Eyes in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90)," 287ff.

239

Portier-Young, *Apocalypse Against Empire*, 366.

240

Newsom, "Enoch 83–90," 30. I am thankful to Daniel Olson for sending me a copy of Newsom's unpublished paper.

241

VanderKam, "Open and Closed Eyes in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90)," 280.

242

On theophany as a revelation of divine knowledge, see Orlov, *Embodiment of Divine Knowledge*, 1–4.

243

Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse*, 294.

244

Gen 6:2: "the sons of God saw that they were fair, and they took wives for themselves of all that they chose."

245

1 Enoch 6:2 reads, "the watchers, the sons of heaven, saw them (human women) and desired them." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 174. For a detailed analysis of this ocular motif, see Reed, "Gendering Heavenly Secrets?".

246

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 215; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 25. Even many centuries after composition of the early Enochic booklets Jewish traditions still maintain the memory of this event in which the antagonist of the Enochic tradition was deprived his sight. *Zohar* III.208a-b contains the following passage about "closing eyes" of the antagonist: "Falling and eyes uncovered, namely Uzza and Aza'el. Falling is Uzza, whom the blessed Holy One plunged into the depth of darkness, and who dwells in that depth up to his neck, as we have said, and darkness was thrown into his face. So he is called falling – he fell once, and he fell afterward into the depth of darkness. Aza'el is eyes uncovered, because darkness was not thrown upon him, since he did not struggle nor provoke anger above like the one mentioned above. Balaam called them a vision of Shaddai, namely falling and eyes uncovered." Matt, *The Zohar: Pritzker Edition*, 9.457.

247

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 137.

248

Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 27.

249

1 Enoch 87:2: “And I lifted my eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 364. *1 Enoch* 89:2: “And again I lifted my eyes toward heaven, and I saw a high roof and seven sluices on it, and those sluices were pouring out much water into an enclosure.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 365.

250

The description of Asael’s prison in *1 Enoch* 88:1 also includes a reference to darkness: “And I saw one of those four who had come before; he seized that first star that had fallen from heaven, and he bound it by its hands and feet and threw it into an abyss, and that abyss was narrow and deep and desolate and dark.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 364.

251

Although in modern epistemological frameworks it is difficult, if not impossible, to conceptualize darkness or radiance as knowledge, in ancient systems luminosity or darkness encompassed several semantic facets, conveying knowledge about status, majesty, holiness, and the power of their recipients. On this, see Orlov, *Embodiment of Divine Knowledge*, 92.

252

Cf. Jude 6–8: “And the angels who did not keep their own position, but left their proper dwelling, he has kept in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgment of the great Day.”

253

2 Enoch 7:1 reads, “and those men picked me up and brought me up to the second heaven. And they showed me, and I saw a darkness greater than earthly darkness. And there I perceived prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112.

254

“These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness. And three of them descended to the earth from the Lord’s Throne onto the place Ermon. And they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Ermon. And they saw the daughters of men, how beautiful they were; and they took wives for themselves, and the earth was defiled by their deeds.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.130–132.

255

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112.

256

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 297.

257

1 Enoch 13:4–6: “And they asked that I write a memorandum of petition for them, that they might have forgiveness, and that I recite the memorandum of petition for them in the presence of the Lord of heaven. For they were no longer able to speak or to lift their eyes to heaven out of shame for the deeds through which they had sinned and for which they had been condemned. Then I wrote out the memorandum of their petition, and the requests concerning themselves, with regard to their deeds individually, and concerning <their sons> for whom they were making request, that they might have forgiveness and longevity.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 237.

258

1 Enoch 14:4: “I wrote up your petition, and in the vision it was shown to me thus that you will not obtain your petition for all the days of eternity.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 251.

259

James Davila notes that "according to 13:7, in response to the request of the Watchers that he intercede for them, he goes to an isolated area at 'the Waters of Dan' near Mount Hermon. There he reads over the prayers that the Watchers had written out for him until he goes to sleep (evidently, an incubation ritual). As a result, he has inauspicious dreams that he recounts to the repentant Watchers when he awakes. These dreams are given in detail in 14:1–16:4. The interesting point here is that Enoch actively seeks out a revelation using ritual means rather than the revelation coming to him unsolicited, as was normal with the biblical prophets … . The vision has two purposes: to carry out the prophetic initiation of Enoch and to send back to earth a negative divine response to the request of the Watchers for mercy. Enoch does not seek to join the celestial liturgy or to gain the granting of a wish, although he does receive a divine revelation about the Watchers." J. Davila, "The Ancient Jewish Apocalypses and the Hekhalot Literature," in: *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism* (ed. A. D. DeConick, SBLSS, 11; Atlanta: SBL, 2006) 105–125 at 110.

260

Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 226–227. On corruption of creation, see also: L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5* (ConBNT, 12; Lund: Gleerup, 1979); Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 38–39, 152–55; Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 139–202.

261

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 188.

262

1 Enoch 10:7: "And heal the earth, which the watchers have desolated; and announce the healing of the earth, that the plague may be healed." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 215.

263

Macaskill points out that "the idea of the restoration of creation is found particularly in [*1 Enoch*] 10:16–11:2, a passage reminiscent of Isaiah 65:17–25 in its portrayal of a world free of trouble and full of life and bounty. The passage is part of the address to Michael that began in 10:11. As such, it is technically set in the *Urzeit*. However, it is clear that the primeval imagery is intended as typological for eschatology … . the imagery is so utopian that it cannot simply refer to the post-Flood humanity except by way of type: all the earth (10:22) is cleansed of all perversity and iniquity (10:16, 20, 22), all the sons of men become righteous (10:21), truth and peace will be united for all the generations of men (11:2). The fact that such language occurs in the context of primeval events that clearly have not led to such a utopian state, requires that the function of such language here is eschatological." Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 33–34. Nickelsburg also argues that "in its eschatological dimension, this aspect of the story promises a new start beyond the destruction wreaked by the great judgement." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 219.

264

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 182.

265

Stuckenbruck, "Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment," 117.

266

Cf. *1 Enoch* 9:9: "And now look, the daughters of men have borne sons from them, giants, half-breed." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 202.

267

We have already encountered a similar tradition in *2 Enoch* where the silent Watchers were portrayed with disproportional bodies.

268

On the Giants' appetites, see M. J. Goff, "Monstrous Appetites: Giants, Cannibalism, and Insatiable Eating in Enochic Literature," *JAJ* 1 (2010) 19–42.

269

Luca Arcari points out that "the hybrid generation of the Giants, on account of its derivation from a mingling subversive of ineffable plans, is per se something that is chaotic and destructive." L. Arcari, "Illicit Unions, Hybrid Sonship, and Intermarriage in Second Temple Judaism – 1 Enoch, Book of Giants, Jubilees," in: *Family and Kinship in the Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature* (ed. A. Passaro; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2012/2013; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2013) 405–454 at 420. In another section of his study, Arcari argues that "the tale of the union between the angels and the women, in its different versions, is the symbol of the union of two incompatible realities. This is the origin of a hybrid, the so-called 'Giants,' the symbol of a reality that is contaminated and impure. The imagery of sexual union between two incompatible realities recalls a state of social disorder which subverts the established order." Arcari, "Illicit Unions," 426–427.

270

On the cry of the earth, see also D. Assefa, "The Cry of the Earth in 1 Enoch and Environmental Theology," in: *The Blessing of Enoch: 1 Enoch and Contemporary Theology* (ed. P. F. Esler; Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2017) 61–69.

271

Stuckenbruck, "Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment," 118.

272

1 Enoch 2:1–5:3 reads, "2:1 Contemplate all (his) works, and observe the works of heaven, how they do not alter their paths; and the luminaries of heaven, that they all rise and set, each one ordered in its appointed time; and they appear on their feasts and do not transgress their own appointed order. 2:2 Observe the earth, and contemplate the works that take place on it from the beginning until the consummation, that nothing on earth changes, but all the works of God are manifest to you. 2:3 Observe <the signs of summer and winter. Contemplate the signs of> winter, that all the earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain rest upon it. 3:1 Contemplate and observe how all the trees appear withered and (how) all their leaves are stripped, except fourteen trees that are not stripped, which remain with the old until the new comes after two or three years. 4:1 Observe the signs of summer, whereby the sun burns and scorches, and you seek shelter and shade from its presence, and the earth burns with scorching heat, and you are unable to tread on the dust or the rock because of the burning. 5:1 Contemplate all the trees; their leaves blossom green on them, and they cover the trees. And all their fruit is for glorious honor. Contemplate all these works, and understand that he who lives for all the ages made all these works. 5:2 And his works take place from year to year, and they all carry out their works for him, and their works do not alter, but they all carry out his word. 5:3 Observe how, in like manner, the sea and the rivers carry out and do not alter their works from his words." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 150.

273

Reed points out that "the *Book of the Watchers* marshals geography and ouranography for the goal of ethical exhortation, using the majesty of the cosmos to proclaim the power of its Creator and citing the orderly cycles of the cosmos to encourage humans not to stray from His will." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 67. Ben-Dov also points out that "in *1 Enoch* 2–5, the stable order of creation is a more reliable model for moral uprightness than the treacherous deeds of humanity." J. Ben-Dov, "Review of 1 Enoch 2," 148.

274

M. E. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,” in: *Magnalia Dei, The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of G. Ernest Wright* (eds. F. M. Cross et al.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976) 414–452 at 430. Reed also points out that *1 Enoch* 1–5 “records his [Enoch’s] exhortations about the value of cosmological phenomena as models for ethical behavior.” Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 24.

275

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 39. In another work Nickelsburg observes that “pervading *1 Enoch*’s understanding of law and reflecting its roots in the sapiential tradition is a sense of cosmic order. The *Astronomical Book* lays out the ‘laws’ and order that the Creator has structured into the universe. The introduction to the corpus celebrates the fact that the heavenly bodies follow their ordered courses, while human disobedience involves perversion and turning aside from God’s order (5:4).” G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “Enochic Wisdom and Its Relationship to the Mosaic Torah,” in: *The Early Enoch Literature* (ed. G. Boccaccini and J. J. Collins; JSJSS, 121; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 81–89 at 84.

276

Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 140.

277

Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 140.

278

Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 24. In another study, Reed notes that “listing aspects of created world thus contributes to conveying its comprehensiveness in providing models for human obedience to God’s laws.” Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism*, 232.

279

Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 41. One can detect a similar tendency in the *Wisdom of Ben Sira* 33:7–15 when the author appears to juxtapose calendrical measurements with the measurement of human deeds: “Why is one day more important than another, when all the daylight in the year is from the sun? By the Lord’s wisdom they were distinguished, and he appointed the different seasons and festivals. Some days he exalted and hallowed, and some he made ordinary days. All human beings come from the ground, and humankind was created out of the dust. In the fullness of his knowledge the Lord distinguished them and appointed their different ways. Some he blessed and exalted, and some he made holy and brought near to himself; but some he cursed and brought low, and turned them out of their place. Like clay in the hand of the potter, to be molded as he pleases, so all are in the hand of their Maker, to be given whatever he decides. Good is the opposite of evil, and life the opposite of death; so the sinner is the opposite of the godly. Look at all the works of the Most High; they come in pairs, one the opposite of the other.” Reflecting on this passage, Kister notes that in this passage “Ben Sira compares holy and ordinary days with the difference between elected and non-elected human beings. Both the days and the human beings are created by God in essentially the same fashion.” M. Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements Ordained by God in the Literature of the Second Temple Period,” in: *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (eds. E. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. Clements; STDJ, 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005) 153–176 at 158. Argall points out that both the *Wisdom of Ben Sira* and the early Enochic booklets demonstrate interest in the physical structure of the cosmos and its relevance for ethics. On this, see R. A. Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach: A Comparative Literary and Conceptual Analysis of the Themes of Revelation, Creation and Judgment* (EJL, 8; Atlanta: Scholars, 1995) 3.

280

On the ethical significance of cosmological “measurements,” see also Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements,” 153ff.

281

VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.26.

282

J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSS, 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 317.

283

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 521; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.265.

284

In the *Animal Apocalypse* one can also see a correlation between violation of the "stars" trajectories and changing "pens and pastures" by humans. *1 Enoch* 86:1–2 reads, "And again I saw with my eyes as I was sleeping. I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell from heaven, and it arose and was eating and pasturing among those cattle. Then I saw those large and black cattle, and behold, all of them exchanged their pens and their pastures and their calves, and they began to moan, one after the other." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 364.

285

Stuckenbruck, "Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment," 119.

286

Stuckenbruck notes that in "a story about the beginnings of evil that comes to us from a different part of *1 Enoch*, namely, the *Astronomical Book* at chapter 80, … the patriarch Enoch is given a vision that anticipates what 'the days of the sinners' will be like (probably referring to the days just before the Flood in his time or perhaps the days when history runs out at the end of time)." Stuckenbruck, "Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment," 118–119.

287

Hahne points out that *1 Enoch* 80:2–8 "shows the delicate relationship that exists between moral obedience and the cosmic order. When sin increases among humans and angels even the balance of nature is upset. There is a considerably different view of the cycles of nature in 80:2–8 than is to be found in most of *AB*, perhaps because this passage came from a different source. Yet the redactor who put this passage in its present context has created a powerful picture of the eschatological damage that sin will bring to creation by juxtaposing this passage with a description of the perfectly consistent, normal operation of nature. The point is not that natural law is fickle, but that the normally structured order of nature will be seriously corrupted by sin." H. A. Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*. *An Exegetical Study of Romans 8:19–22 in Light of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Ph.D. diss.; Wycliffe College, 1997) 168.

288

Stuckenbruck, "Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment," 119.

289

Stuckenbruck, "Words from the Book of Enoch on the Environment," 119–120.

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This cluster of motifs will be perpetuated in various Enochic materials for centuries. For example, Justin Martyr in *2 Apol.* 5.2 interprets the Watchers' rebellion as a violation of cosmic harmony: "When God made the universe and put all earthly things under man's dominion, and arranged the heavenly bodies for the increase of fruits and the change of seasons, and decreed a divine law for these, which He apparently also created for man's sake, He appointed His angels, whom He placed over mankind, to look after men and all things under heaven. But the angels violated their charge, fell into sin with women and begot children who are called demons." T. B. Falls, *The Writings of Saint Justin Martyr* (FC, 6; Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008) 124. Scholars see some similarities between this

passage and *1 Enoch* 2–5. Reflecting on Justin's passage, Reed points out that "the origin of evil is here presented as a breach in cosmic harmony; just as the nature poem in *1 Enoch* 2–5 exhorts the reader to consider the orderliness of the heavenly luminaries (2:1), seasonal weather changes (2:1, 3; 3:1–4:1), and cycles of vegetation (5:1) as models for ethical steadfastness, so Justin here cites the elements of heaven, the fruitfulness of agricultural produce, and the predictable rotation of the seasons as evidence for the governance of divinely instituted Natural Law (*2 Apol.* 5.2; cf. *1 Enoch* 5:1–2)." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 163.

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Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.200–202. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 70:3–10 reads, "And after the ending of the days of Methusalom, the Lord appeared to him in a night vision and said to him, 'Listen, Methusalom! I am (the Lord), the God of your father Enoch. (I want you to know) that the days of your life have come to an end, and the day of your rest has come close. Call Nir, the second son of your son Lamekh, and invest him in the garments of your consecration. And make him stand at my altar. And you will tell him everything that will happen (to him) in his days, for the time is drawing near for the destruction of all the earth, and of every human being and of everything that moves on the earth. For in his days there will be a great confusion on the earth, for each person has become envious of his neighbor, and people will sin against people. And nation will wage war against nation. And all the earth will be filled with blood and with very evil confusion. Even more than that, they will abandon their Creator, and they will do obeisance to that which is fixed in the sky, and to what moves above the earth, and the waves of the sea. And the adversary will make himself great and will be delighted with their deeds, to my provocation. All the earth will change its order, and every fruit and every herb will change their times, for they will anticipate the time of destruction. And all the nations will change on the earth, and all my desire. And then I, I shall command the Bottomless. It will come out and rush out over the earth, and the storages of the waters of heaven will rush (from above) onto the earth in a great substance in accordance with the first substance. And the whole constitution of the earth will perish, and all the earth will quake, and it will be deprived of its strength even from that day. Then I, I will preserve Noe, the firstborn son of your son Lamech. And I will make another world rise up from his seed, and his seed will exist throughout the ages.'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.201–203.

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Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 521.

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Hahne suggests that *2 Enoch* 70 exhibits "a close relationship between the moral deterioration of humanity prior to the Flood and the functional deterioration of the natural world. Both are described as a very great breakdown on the earth (70:5) that will precede the judgment of the Flood. The 'change' to the earth and the human race are parallel: 'the earth will change its order' and 'the nations will change on the earth' (70:7 S). Although there is no explicit cause-effect relationship between increasing sin and the cosmic breakdown. both are related elements of the collapse of the world prior to the Flood." Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, 223.

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Argall points to the similarities between *1 Enoch* 80:6–8 and *1 Enoch* 18:15–19:1, noting that "the fact that both passages cover the same *topoi* in the same order suggests that they share a common tradition." Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 131.

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On "drawing-down" theurgy in connection with this passage, see M. Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) 166–167.

296

Reed argues that "the version of the angelic descent myth in *3 Enoch* 5 (§§7–8) represents a later addition to the Enoch-Metatron material in *3 Enoch* (3–16 [§§4–20]) and reflects direct literary dependence on the extracts of the *Book of the Watchers* preserved in the Christian chronographical tradition." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 239. On this, see also A. Y. Reed, "From Asael and Shemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: *3 Enoch* 5 (§§7–8) and Jewish Reception-History of *1 Enoch*," *JSQ* 8 (2001) 105–136.

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Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.260.

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Reed, "From Asael and Shemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael," 106.

299

VanderKam, "1 Enoch 80," 353.

300

Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.260.

301

Fröhlich, "Mesopotamian Elements and the Watchers Traditions," 15–16.

302

For discussions about legal concepts of the early Enochic books, see M. Limbeck, *Die Ordnung des Heils: Untersuchungen zum Gesetzesverständnis des Frühjudentums* (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1971) 65–71; C. Münchow, *Ethik und Eschatologie: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik mit einem Ausblick auf das Neue Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981) 25ff.; Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, 106–107.

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One of the most extensive clusters of such imagery can be found in the *Astronomical Book*. VanderKam points out that "each of the first three chapters of the *Book of the Luminaries* begins with a rubric containing the word 'law,' and several summary statements later in the booklet also include "law/s" (see 79:1–2; 80:7; 82:9 "the law of the stars"; cf. 76:14)." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 420.

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Leslau defines *śerʿāt* as "ordinance, ordering, order, arrangement, ordered rank, rule, regulation, precept, prescription, constitution, testament, tradition, covenant, decree, edict, statute, law, canon." W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991) 533, s.v. *śerʿāt*. For our study it is important that this term, used in the expression "the law of the stars," has one of its meaning as "covenant." Stuckenbruck points out that "the term for 'law' (Eth. *š/seʿrāt*) may also carry the meaning of 'covenant,' so that is could be an equivalent for either Greek διαθήκη or νόμος." L. T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108* (CEJL; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007) 98. On *šerʿāt* as "covenant," see also Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 295; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.224; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 444.

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Reflecting on these terms, VanderKam notes that "the word *teʾzāz* means, besides 'command,' 'lex, regula' (A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae cum indice latino* [Leipzig, 1865; Repr. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970] 794), 'law, ordinance' (Leslau, *Dictionary*, 533). For other uses of it in the *Book of the Luminarie*s, see 72:35; 73:1 (twice); 74:1 (twice); 76:14; 80:6. It figures primarily in the first part of the *Book of the Luminaries*, while *šerʿāt* is common in the later sections (78:10; 79:1, 2, 5; 80:1, 5, 7; 82:4, 9, 10, 11 [cf. v. 13], 14, 20)." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 420, footnote 2. In another part of the Hermeneia commentary, VanderKam notes that "the term 'command' *(teʾzāz*), which is used in some headings and

summaries in the sense of ‘law’ (72:2, 35; 73:1; 74:1; 76:14), is never employed specifically for stars, although they are included in the general reference in 72:2. The expected term in connection with stars is *šerʿāt* (78:10; 79:1, 2, 5; 82:9; see also 80:7).” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 528. Schnabel notes that “we are aware of the lexical difficulties regarding the establishing of the concept of law in *1 Enoch*. In the Ethiopic version the terms *cheq* (= hebr. חוק) and *ʿerit* (= Mosaic law) are missing; the terms *shereʿat* (= τάξις, διαθήκη, ἔθος) and *teʾezaz* (= ἐπιταγή, ἐντολή, πρόσταγμα) which can be used as synonyms (cf. 80,4ff.) are rather common and can refer to (1) the cosmic order, (2) the orders and commands of God in general, and (3) the law in an absolute sense.” Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, 106, note 71. On this terminology, see also R. A. Coughenour, *Enoch and Wisdom: A Study of the Wisdom Elements in the Book of Enoch* (Ph.D. diss.; Case Western Reserve University, 1972) 115ff.

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See, for example, *1 Enoch* 72:2: “This is the first law (ትእዛዝ) of the luminaries.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.215; *1 Enoch* 72:35: “This is the law (ትእዛዙ) and course of the sun.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1. 227; *1 Enoch* 73:1: “After this law (ለዝትእዛዝ) I saw a second law (ትእዛዘ) for the smaller luminary whose name is the moon.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.228; *1 Enoch* 74:1: “Another course and law (ወትእዛዘ) I saw for it; by that law (ትእዛዝ) it carries out its monthly course.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.231; *1 Enoch* 76:14: “The twelve gates of the four quarters of the sky are completed. All their laws (ትእዛዞሙ) and all their punishment and their prosperity — I have shown to you everything, my son Methuselah.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.249; *1 Enoch* 78:10 “Uriel showed me another law (ሥርዓተ): (regarding) when the light is placed in the moon and from where it is placed (in the moon) from the sun.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.257; *1 Enoch* 79:1–2: “Now my son I have shown you everything, and the law (ሥርዓተ) of all the stars of the sky is completed. He showed me all their law (ሥርዓቶሙ) for each day, each time in a jurisdiction, every year, its emergence, the command, every month, and every week.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.261; *1 Enoch* 79:4: “by the law (በሥርዓተ) of the week twenty-five (weeks) and two days.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.263; *1 Enoch* 80:4–7: “The moon will change its law (ሥርዓቶ) … many heads of the stars will stray from the command (ትእዛዝ) and will change their ways and actions and will not appear at the times prescribed for them. The entire law (ሥርዓተ) of the stars will be closed to the sinners, and the thoughts of those on the earth will err regarding them.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.265–266; *1 Enoch* 82:9–10: “This is the law of the stars (ሥርዓተ፡ ከዋክብት፡) which set in their places, at their times, at their set times, and in their months. These are the names of those who lead them, who keep watch, so they enter at their times, who lead them in their places, in their orders (ወበሥርዓታቲሆሙ), in their times, in their months, in their jurisdictions, and in their positions.” Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.275.

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Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 555; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.275.

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Cf. 4Q209 frg. 28 (Drawnel’s reconstruction): “[according to their orders, to the times, to their months, to] their [ru]le, according to all their stations (לכל מסרתהון).” H. Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 198–200. *1 Enoch* 12:4: “the watchers of heaven – who forsook the highest heaven, the sanctuary of the(ir) eternal station (τὸ ἁγίασμα τῆς στάσεως τοῦ αἰῶνος).” Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 27.

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The conceptual boundaries between the astronomical bodies and their angelic guardians are blurred already in the earliest Enochic booklets. Ratzon reminds her readers that “in the *Astronomical Book*, the leaders of the stars seem to be luminaries themselves (72:3; 75:2;

82:15).” E. Ratzon, “The Heavenly Abode of the Luminaries,” in: *Representations of Angelic Beings in Early Jewish and in Christian Traditions* (eds. A. Tefera and L. T. Stuckenbruck; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021) 15–46 at 34.

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Cf. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, 106–107.

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The “legal” significance of the stars’ departures from their established trajectories finds its “human” conceptual counterpart in the so-called “two ways traditions,” the conceptual trend prominent in the Enochic materials. Nickelsburg points out that “the Enochic authors depict human conduct with reference to the metaphor of the two ways (explicitly in 91:4, 91:18–19, 92:3, 94:1–4, 99:10, 104:13, 105:2, 108:13). The commandments for right conduct and obedience to these commandments involve walking on the path of uprightness. Disobedience involves straying from the right path (5:4, 93:9, 99:10), walking on the path(s) of wickedness and violence or perverting the truth (93:9, 99:2, 104:9).” G. Nickelsburg, “Enochic Wisdom: An Alternative to the Mosaic Torah?” in: *Hesed ve-emet: Studies in Honor of Ernest S. Frerichs* (eds. J. Magness and S. Gitin; BJS, 320; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) 123–132 at 125.

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Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 142. Reflecting on this passage, de Villiers points out that “in 41:5–9 an extensive description is devoted to the sun and the moon. A striking aspect of this description is the fixed nature of their movements, which is expressed by, amongst others, the phrase: ‘they keep faith with each other’ at the end of the short section in verse 5, before the movements of the sun and moon are described in the following sentences (cf. 41:5; 43:2).” P. G. R. de Villiers, “Revealing the Secrets: Wisdom and the World in the Similitudes of Enoch,” *Neot* 17 (1983) 50–68 at 58.

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Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 142; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.124.

314

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 203–204.

315

Hayes points out that “*1 Enoch*’s explicit characterization of the laws of nature as divine decrees facilitates an even more radical transference of legal attributes to the realm of the created order than is found in Sirach’s ‘torah-fication’ of wisdom. Specifically, *1 Enoch* adopts the language of obedience and disobedience, sin and punishment: the laws imposed on the cosmos are binding, and if the forces of nature or the heavenly bodies choose to disobey – a distinct possibility – they are punished (*1 Enoch* 21:1–6; 80:16).” Hayes, *What’s Divine about Divine Law? Early Perspectives*, 99.

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See, for example, Jude 6–8 where the fallen angels’ abandoning of their proper dwelling is compared with the sexual immorality of Sodom and Gomorrah: “And the angels who did not keep their own position, but left their proper dwelling (ἀγγέλους τε τοὺς μὴ τηρήσαντας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρχὴν ἀλλὰ ἀπολιπόντας τὸ ἴδιον οἰκητήριον), he has kept in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgment of the great Day. Likewise, Sodom and Gomorrah and the surrounding cities, which, in the same manner as they, indulged in sexual immorality and pursued unnatural lust, serve as an example by undergoing a punishment of eternal fire.” Dennis points out that “the behavior of God’s people should reflect and conform to God’s ordered (that is, obedient) cosmic structure. This is precisely the conception of the ‘sin’ of the Watchers in Jude 6, for they ‘did not keep their own domain, but abandoned their proper abode’ (Jude 6). ‘Abandoning of the proper abode,’ whether by an angel or human, is a sinful

action at least in part because it constitutes rebellion against God's cosmic order of things." J. Dennis, "Cosmology in the Petrine Literature and Jude," in: *Cosmology and New Testament Theology* (ed. J. T. Pennington and S. M. McDonough; JSNTSS, 355; London: T&T Clark, 2008) 157–177 at 169. In *Testament of Naphtali* 3:2–5 the luminaries and the stars' faithfulness to "their order" is first compared with following the law of God and then contrasted with the Watchers' changing the order of their nature: "Sun and moon and stars do not change their order (οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦσι τάξιν αὐτῶν); so you also, do not change the law of God in the disorderliness of your activities. The Gentiles changed their order, having gone astray and having forsaken the Lord and they followed after stones and sticks, having followed after spirits of deceit. But you shall not be so, my children, having recognized in the firmament, in the earth and in the sea and in all created things the Lord who made all these things, so that you will not become as Sodom which changed the order of its nature. In like manner also the Watchers changed the order of their nature (οἱ ἐγρήγοροι ἐνήλλαξαν τάξιν φύσεως αὐτῶν), whom the Lord also cursed at the Flood on their account making the earth uninhabited without inhabitants and fruits." H. Hollander and M. De Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary* (SVTP, 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 301; M. De Jonge et al., *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (PVTG, 1; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 116–117.

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Eshbal Ratzon suggests that "in both the *Book of Watchers* and the *Book of Parables* the stars have a free will to change their course, rebel, sin, and be judged for those actions (18:9–19:2; 20:4; 21; 43:1–2)." Ratzon, "The Heavenly Abode of the Luminaries," 33–34. Ratzon proposes that the appointment of Reuel, who in *1 Enoch* 20:4 "takes vengeance on the world of the luminaries," is a part of the tradition of the stars' judgment.

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Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 31. See also *1 Enoch* 8:1 (Sync.): "they transgressed (παρέβησαν) and led the holy ones astray." Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 22.

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Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276.

320

Schnabel suggests that "the communication of the cosmic conformity to the natural laws can be regarded as communication of Torah." Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, 106. Collins points out that "in *1 Enoch* 5:4 we find a reference to 'the law of the Lord' without qualification. The context, however, suggests that this is the law of creation, or of nature, rather than the specific commandments given to Moses on Mt. Sinai. Of course, the two may be viewed as compatible; the law emanating from Sinai may be viewed as a formulation of the law of nature, as appears to be the case in Ben Sira 24 and in Philo. But unlike Ben Sira or Philo, the Enochic writings do not mention the Mosaic Torah explicitly and do not emphasize the distinctively Mosaic laws designed for Israel." J. J. Collins, "How Distinctive was Enochic Judaism?" *Meghillot* 5–6 (2008) 17–34 at 30–31. Hayes argues that "*1 Enoch* emphasizes the positivistic character of the laws that regulate creation, transferring some of the properties of the revealed law to the natural order. In *1 Enoch*, the laws regulating the cosmos are represented not as the manifestation of a logos inherent in nature; rather, they are commandments issued by God to regulate the cosmos. The heavenly bodies are understood to follow laws laid down by God. Specifically, the various natural elements and entities are moved by angels who are directly commanded by God (60:11–22; 66:1–2; 69:21–25). In obeying the commands of God, the natural elements and entities take an oath to fulfill the order, regulation, or law given to them." Hayes, *What's Divine about Divine Law? Early Perspectives*, 98. Following Schnabel and Hayes' insights, Lutz Doering points out that "the law in the Enochic tradition is not normally presented as 'the Torah of Moses' … but rather as divine command … cosmic order is achieved by divine command; for example, the delay of stars in their rising is presented as a transgression of the command of the Lord for which they

are punished (*1 Enoch* 18:15–16)." L. Doering, "Torah and Halakah in the Hellenistic Period," in: *Torah: Functions, Meanings, and Diverse Manifestations in Early Judaism and Christianity* (eds. G. Boccaccini, J. M. Zurawski, and W. M. Schniedewind; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2021) 249–292 at 259.

321

Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 31.

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Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 52.

323

1 Enoch 21:1–3 reads, "I traveled to where it was chaotic. And there I saw a terrible thing; I saw neither heaven above, nor firmly founded earth, but a chaotic and terrible place (ἑώρακα οὔτε οὐρανὸν ἐπάνω, οὔτε γῆν τεθέαμαι τεθεμελιωμένην, ἀλλὰ τόπον ἀκατασκεύαστον καὶ φοβερόν). And there I saw seven of the stars of heaven, bound and thrown in it together, like great mountains, and burning in fire." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 297. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 32.

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The Greek adjective ἀκατασκεύαστος occurs in the LXX only in Gen 1:2 (ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου) where it describes the "unstructured" and "raw" reality before God's "cultivation" of creation. On this term, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 298.

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Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 521. The fallen angels' abandonment of their cosmological duties appears to be hinted also in Athenagoras' *Legatio pro Christianis* 24,3–5: "These angels were called into being by God *to exercise providence over the things set in order by him*, so that God would have universal and general providence over all things whereas the angels would be set over particular things. As in the case of men whose virtue and vice is a matter of choice (for you would neither honor the good nor punish the evil if virtue and vice were not in their hands) some take seriously what has been entrusted to them by you whereas others are found untrustworthy, so it is in the case of the angels. Some of them – they were, remember, created free by God – remained true to the task for which God made them and to which he had appointed them. Others violated both their own nature and their office." Athenagoras, *Legatio and De resurrectione* (ed. W. R. Schoedel; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) 59–61.

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For discussions of the halakhic systems of various sectarian groups during the Second Temple period, see J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law and Thought* (STDJ, 138; Leiden: Brill, 2022); P. R. Davies, "Halakhah at Qumran," in: *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (eds. P. R. Davies and R. T. White; JSOTSS, 100; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 37–50; F. García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," in: *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. M. Albani et al.; TSAJ, 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) 243–260; M. Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah," in: *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ, 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 2.571–88; H. Newman, *Proximity to Power and Jewish Sectarian Groups of the Ancient Period: A Review of Lifestyle, Values, and Halakhah in the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and Qumran* (BRLJ, 25; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 183–233; L. H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA, 16; Leiden: Brill, 1975); idem, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS, 33; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); idem, "The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period," in: *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International*

Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December, 1987 (ed. G. J. Brooke; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989) 239–255; idem, "Pharisaic and Sadducean Halakhah in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 1 (1994) 285–299; Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, 183ff; A. Schremer, "'[T]he[y] Did Not Read in the Sealed Book': Qumran Halakhic Revolution and the Emergence of Torah Study in Second Temple Judaism," in: *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick, and D. R. Schwartz; STDJ, 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 105–26; A. Shemesh, *Halakhah in the Making: The Development of Jewish Law from Qumran to the Rabbis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

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Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 44.

328

Reflecting on this phrase, Coblentz Bautch points out that in *1 Enoch* 106:13, "διαθήκη or Eth. *šerʿat* refers expressly to a heavenly covenant violated by the watchers." Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography*, 290.

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In the stars' spatial transitions which are now understood as halakhic precepts, the meaning of *halakha* as the word which is derived from the Hebrew root that means "to go" or "to walk," receives a new significance.

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R. H. Charles argued that this concept can be "traced partly to Ps 139; Exod 25:9; Exod 26:30, where we find the idea that there exist in heaven divine archetypes of certain things on earth." Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 132. On heavenly books/tablets, see L. Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif in Judeo-Christian Apocalypses 200 B.C.E. – 200 C.E.* (JSJSS, 152; Leiden: Brill, 2012); Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, 231–254; W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (HNT, 21; Tübingen: Mohr, 1926) 258ff.; R. Eppel, "Les tables de la Loi et les tables célestes," *RHPR* 17 (1937) 401–412; García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," 243–260; Münchow, *Ethik und Eschatologie*, 44–49; F. Nötscher, "Himmlische Bücher und Schicksalsglaube in Qumran," *RevQ* 1 (1959) 405–411; S. M. Paul, "Heavenly Tablets and the Book of Life," *JANES* 5 (1973) 345–52; E. Rau, *Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs. Traditions- und formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum äth. Henochbuch und zu verwandten Schriften* (Diss.; Hamburg, 1974) 345–98; P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1934) 290–292, 303–304; G. Widengren, *The Ascension of the Apostle and the Heavenly Book* (UUÅ, 7; Uppsala: Lundequist, 1950).

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Exod 25:8–9: "… And have them make me a sanctuary, so that I may dwell among them. In accordance with all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle and of all its furniture, so you shall make it … ." Exod 25:40: "And see that you make them according to the pattern for them, which is being shown you on the mountain … ." Exod 26:30: "Then you shall erect the tabernacle according to the plan for it that you were shown on the mountain … ." Exod 27:8: "You shall make it hollow, with boards. They shall be made just as you were shown on the mountain … ." Num 8:4: "Now this was how the lampstand was made, out of hammered work of gold. From its base to its flowers, it was hammered work; according to the pattern that the Lord had shown Moses, so he made the lampstand." All biblical quotations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) unless otherwise indicated.

332

Isa 49:16: "See, I have inscribed you on the palms of my hands; your walls are continually

before me." *2 Bar.* 4:2–6: "Or do you think that this is the city of which I said: On the palms of my hands I have carved you? It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed, with me, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise. And I showed it to Adam before he sinned. But when he transgressed the commandment, it was taken away from him – as also Paradise. After these things I showed it to my servant Abraham in the night between the portions of the victims. And again, I showed it also to Moses on Mount Sinai when I showed him the likeness of the tabernacle and all its vessels. Behold, now it is preserved with me – as also Paradise." A. F. J. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols.; ed. J. H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985) 1.615–652 at 1.622.

333

3 Enoch 41:1–3: "R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you … the letters by which wisdom and understanding, knowledge and intelligence, humility and rectitude were created, by which the whole world is sustained. I went with him and he took me by his hand, bore me up on his wings, and showed me those letters, engraved with a pen of flame upon the throne of glory, and sparks and lightnings shoot from them and cover all the chambers of ʿArabot." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.292.

334

3 Enoch 45:1–6: "R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: Come and I will show you the curtain of the Omnipresent One, which is spread before the Holy One, blessed be he, and on which are printed all the generations of the world and all their deeds, whether done or to be done, till the last generation. I went and he showed them to me with his fingers, like a father teaching his son the letters of the Torah; and I saw: Each generation and its potentiates; each generation and its heads; each generation and its shepherds; each generation and its keepers … . And I saw: Adam and his generation, their deeds and their thoughts … The Messiah the son of Joseph and his generation, and all that they will do to the gentiles … ." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.296–299. For the *Pargod* traditions in rabbinic literature, see also: *b. Yoma* 77a; *b.* Ber. 18b; *b. Hag.* 15a-b; *b. Sanh.* 89b; *b. Sotah* 49a; *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 4:6; *Zohar* I.47a; II.149b-150a; *Maseket Hekhalot* 7.

335

For example, in *3 Enoch* 13 God writes with his finger, "as with a pen of flame," upon Metatron's crown "the letters by which heaven and earth were created."

336

Moshe Idel identifies the tradition in a late midrash, *ʿAseret ha-Dibberot*, which reads, "Before the creation of the world, skins for parchments were not in existence, that the Torah might be written on them, because the animals did not yet exist. So, on what was the Torah written? On the arm of the Holy One, blessed be He, by a black fire on [the surface of] a white fire." M. Idel, *Absorbing Perfections: Kabbalah and Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) 47. See also *Midrash Tanhuma*: "How was the Torah written? It was written with letters of black fire on a surface of white fire, as is said: His locks are curled and black as a raven." S. A. Berman, *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu. An English Translation of Genesis and Exodus* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 1996) 3. Idel suggests that in this passage the Torah is written on "the head of God, as the mention of the locks apparently implies." Idel, *Absorbing Perfections*, 49.

337

In this symbolic framework, the rogue trajectories of the fallen Watchers can themselves be seen as a corrupted version of the cosmological law.

338

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 515. This statement is partially preserved in 4Q209 frg. 26. On this, see Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 352, 515; Drawnel, *The Aramaic*

Astronomical Book, 194–197.

339

Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 229.

340

J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "The Birth of Moses in Egypt According to the Book of Jubilees (Jub 47.1–9)," in: *The Wisdom in Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honor of Gerard P. Littikhuizen* (ed. A. Hilhorst et al.; AJEC, 59; Leiden: Brill, 2005) 43–67 at 64.

341

Reed notes that "as the *Book of the Watchers* turns to describe Enoch's otherworldly journeys, Enoch learns the 'places of the luminaries and the chambers of the stars and of the thunder-peals' (17:3), the positive counterparts to the celestial and meteorological divination taught by the Watchers in *1 Enoch* 8:3c–g. In this manner, the *Book of the Watchers* shifts from the topic of the fallen angels to Enoch's tours of heaven and earth – and from the improper teachings of the Watchers to the divine revelations received by Enoch." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 48–49.

342

Badalanova Geller points out that "in the case of *2 Enoch*, the explicitly outlined template of celestial architecture functions as a spatial framework of the visionary's gradual exposure to the secrets of the Universe and his progressive acquisition of revelatory knowledge, with each heaven marking a higher stage of his initiation." Badalanova Geller, "Celestial Landscapes and Heavenly Ascents," 207.

343

Reflecting on the phrase "I was shown another calculation" (חשבון אחרן אחזית) found in the *Astronomical Book*, Sanders points out that "it has the remarkable feature of taking the Hebrew loanword חשבון 'calculation, reckoning' as an object … . The mathematical formulae are not calculated, but the calculation (like the tabernacle's משפט) is shown to Enoch." Sanders, "I Was Shown Another Calculation," 91. In another section of his study Sanders observes that "just as Moses is 'caused to see' the proportions of the temple, Enoch is 'caused to see' the calculations that specify the movements of the spheres." Sanders, "I Was Shown Another Calculation," 71. On the other hand, Drawnel argues that "showing calculation" "certainly does not refer to the actual 'seeing' of an abstract process ('calculation'), but to its mental understanding either by an oral explanation, or in the process of reading, or perhaps both." Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book from Qumran*, 37.

344

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 257.

345

Reed points out that "the connection of divination, pharmacology, and metallurgy is well attested in the literature of the ancient Mediterranean world. These *technai* are treated as one complex of powerful yet ambivalent arts in *Prometheus Bound* (484–500 BCE), for instance, and the fourth-century BCE historian Ephorus of Cyme similarly credits the Idaean Dactyls – whom he describes as 'sorcerers [*goêtas*], who practiced charms [*epôdas*] and initiatory rites and mysteries [*mustêria*]' – with teaching humankind about the 'use of fire and what the metals copper and iron are, as well as the means of working them' (Diodorus 5.64.4–5)." A. Y. Reed, "Gendering Heavenly Secrets?" in: *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in Antiquity* (ed. K. B. Stratton and D. S. Kalleres; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 108–151 at 118.

346

On this, see Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels."

347

On Enoch's association with astronomical and calendrical mysteries in later Jewish and Muslim traditions, see J. C. Reeves and A. Y. Reed, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, Volume I: Sources from Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018) 57ff; 79ff.

348

Kyle Roark notes that "ultimately there are two forms of astronomy given in the *Book of the Watchers*. There is the wicked form of astronomy that is given by the fallen culture heroes, the watchers. This knowledge is grouped with other forms of illicit divinatory practices, the improper sexual practices of the watchers, and the violence caused by the giants, as a way to denigrate this knowledge. Yet, in the tour of the heavens given by Uriel to Enoch, Enoch learns astronomical knowledge that is considered appropriate for human beings. This form of astronomical knowledge, unlike the knowledge given by the watchers, is written down for future generations." K. A. Roark, *A Crisis of Wisdom: The Early Enoch Apocalypses and the Cultural Politics of Knowledge in the Hellenistic Age* (Ph.D. diss; Florida State University, 2018) 143.

349

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276.

350

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 281.

351

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276.

352

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276.

353

VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 50.

354

Reed points out that "the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers* … embody an apocalyptic epistemology that celebrates the didactic dimension of cosmological, geographical, and ouranographical knowledge." Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 62.

355

For calendrical "measurements," pertaining to cycles of luminaries, as "commandments" engraved on the "heavenly tablets" see, for example, *Jub.* 6:30–31: "All the days of the commandments will be 52 weeks of days; (they will make) the entire year complete. So it has been engraved and ordained on the heavenly tablets. One is not allowed to transgress a single year, year by year." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.42. Florentino García Martínez, who argues that in *Jubilees* the heavenly tablets play the role of the Oral Torah, notes that "in the *Book of Jubilees* a majority of the mentions of the 'heavenly tablets' do not coincide with the biblical text; neither do they have a predestinarian character. That which is transmitted in them is the exact knowledge of the calendar and feasts." F. García Martínez, *Between Philology and Theology: Contributions to the Study of Ancient Jewish Interpretation* (JSJSS, 162; Leiden: Brill, 2013) 60. Reflecting on *Jub.* 6, García Martínez points out that "what is important in these two mentions of the 'heavenly tablets' is that, according to them, the calendar, as such, in the distribution of days, has been established in the 'heavenly tablets.' This particular calendar, the same as in *1 Enoch* and which was in force in the Qumran community, is a solar calendar of three hundred and sixty-four days (v. 32), fifty-two weeks, of four equal seasons which always begin upon the same day of the week – Wednesday." García Martínez, *Between Philology and Theology*, 60.

356

Jub. 4:17–19: “He was the first of mankind who were born on the earth who learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom and who wrote down in a book the signs of the sky in accord with the fixed pattern of their months so that mankind would know the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months. He was the first to write a testimony. He testified to mankind in the generations of the earth: The weeks of the jubilees he related, and made known the days of the years; the months he arranged, and related the sabbaths of the years, as we had told him. While he slept he saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur — how things will happen for mankind during their history until the day of judgment. He saw everything and understood. He wrote a testimony for himself and placed it upon the earth against all mankind and for their history.” VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.25–27.

357

van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted*, 316–317. On the *halakha* of the patriarchs in *Jubilees*, see K. Müller, “Die hebräische Sprache der Halacha als Textur der Schöpfung: Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis von Tora und Halacha im Buch der Jubiläen,” in: *Bibel in jüdischer und christlicher Tradition* (eds. H. Merklein et al.; BBB, 88; Frankfurt: Anton Hain, 1993) 157–76. Gabriele Boccaccini points out that “the concept of the heavenly tablets is at the foundation of the entire ideological building of *Jubilees*. It was the cornerstone that made possible a synthesis of Enochic and Mosaic principles, where both components were given equal dignity. It was the foundation that made possible the development of a competing *halakha*, which was not completely separated from the Mosaic Torah, while able to ‘correct’ and integrate many of the key elements of the Mosaic tradition (calendar, purity laws, etc.).” G. Boccaccini, “From a Movement of Dissent to a Distinct Form of Judaism: The Heavenly Tablets in Jubilees as the Foundation of a Competing Halakha,” in: *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (eds. G. Boccaccini et al.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009) 193–210 at 205.

358

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276.

359

Coblentz Bautch notes that “the imagery of the pillars of fire is especially unusual. We learn that they are gigantic, and in fact, beyond measure. It is hard to envision exactly their relationship to the chasm; they appear to be continually descending into the pit.” Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography*, 130.

360

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 286–287.

361

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 287.

362

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 287.

363

Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography*, 45.

364

Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography*, 132–3.

365

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 39.

366

For a discussion of the tradition about the cutting of roots and its presence in the Aramaic

fragments of *1 Enoch*, see M. Chrysovergi, “The Watchers’ Instruction on the Cutting of Roots and Herbs: Cross-Cultural Connections and Affinities to Magic,” *Henoch* 33 (2011) 213–237.

367

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 188.

368

3 Enoch 5:7–8: “What did the men of Enosh’s generation do? They roamed the world from end to end, and each of them amassed silver, gold, precious stones, and pearls in mountainous heaps and piles. In the four quarters of the world, they fashioned them into idols, and in each quarter they set up idols about 1,000 parasangs in height.” Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.260.

369

Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels: Teaching and Status,” 351.

370

In *1 Enoch* 31:3 Enoch speaks about “grinding the trees’ bark.” This manipulation of plants can be seen as a counterpart to Shemihazah’s “cutting of roots and plants.” I am thankful to Daniel Olson for drawing my attention to this correspondence.

371

In *1 Enoch* 77:4 Enoch sees “seven lofty mountains which are higher than all the mountains on the earth; from them snow emerges, and days, seasons, and years pass by.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 482.

372

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276.

373

Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 45.

374

VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.28.

375

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 329.

376

Reflecting on *1 Enoch* 33:2, Nickelsburg notes that its form “differs … because the author is alluding to the lengthy tradition now partly preserved in the *Book of the Luminaries* (chaps. 72–82), where Uriel explains the astronomical and cosmological phenomena.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 329.

377

See *1 Enoch* 13:4–6: “And they asked that I write a memorandum of petition for them, that they might have forgiveness, and that I recite the memorandum of petition for them in the presence of the Lord of heaven. For they were no longer able to speak or to lift their eyes to heaven out of shame for the deeds through which they had sinned and for which they had been condemned. Then I wrote out the memorandum of their petition, and the requests concerning themselves, with regard to their deeds individually, and concerning <their sons> for whom they were making request, that they might have forgiveness and longevity.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 237. *1 Enoch* 14:4–7: “I wrote up your petition, and in the vision it was shown to me thus … You will be petitioning and making supplication … but you will not be speaking any word from the writing that I have written.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 251.

378

Argall points out that “the redactional position of chapters 33–36 suggests that the

astronomical Torah was understood as a vision tradition of Enoch's second journey." Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 52.

379

Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 31.

380

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276.

381

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 251.

382

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 555.

383

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 557. See also *1 Enoch* 21:6: "These are the stars of heaven that transgressed the command of the Lord; they have been bound here until ten thousand years are fulfilled—the time of their sins." *1 Enoch* 41:6: "And first the sun emerges and completes its path according to the command of the Lord of Spirits — and his name endures forever and ever." *1 Enoch* 69:20: "And through that oath the sun and the moon complete their course, and they do not transgress their commands from of old <and forever>." *1 Enoch* 79:1: "Now my son I have shown you everything, and the law of all the stars of the sky is completed. He showed me all their law for each day, each time in ab jurisdiction, every year, its emergence, the command, every month, and every week."

384

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 329.

385

Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 91.

386

Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 92. Davidson further points out that "Uriel's role according to the *Astronomical Boo*k extends far beyond communicating the calendar to Enoch. He is the leader or guide (*marāḥi*) of the heavenly bodies and controls their function in relation to the calendar (*1 Enoch* 72:1). In 79:6 he is described as *mal'ak 'ābiy zawe' etu marāxihomu* ('the great angel, the one who is their leader', that is, of the sun, moon, and stars). The same thought is repeated in 74:2; 75:3 and 82:8, though *1 Enoch* 75:3 adds that Uriel is fulfilling a divine appointment. All of this demonstrates the orderliness and integration of the cosmos. While human beings would not normally be privy to such information, it is authoritatively revealed to Enoch. Moreover, the arrangement Enoch is shown is one which will endure 'for the years of the World to eternity, until the creation will be made anew to last forever' (*1 Enoch* 72:1). Here, then, are key motifs which are conveyed from a perspective in which angelic involvement is fundamental in the communication of the author's conception of the universe. The present is orderly, the correct calendrical data are known to the author and his circle, and the future promises a new order. There is no concern with the eschatological judgment, except at 80:8, where it is merely mentioned. Once again it is clear that the world is in God's control and so the righteous can rest secure, as was the case in the *Book of the Watchers*." Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 92–93.

387

J. C. VanderKam, "Enoch's Science," in: *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature* (ed. J. Ben-Dov and S. L. Sanders; New York: New York University Press, 2014) 51–67 at 56.

388

One encounters lunar revelations also in 78:6–17. On the lunar traditions in the *Astronomical Book*, see H. Drawnel, "Moon Computation in the Aramaic Astronomical Book," *RevQ* 23 (2007) 3–41; Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years*, 77–112.

389

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 440.

390

1 Enoch 81:1: "He said to me: 'Enoch, look at these heavenly tablets, read what is written on them, and understand each and every item.'" Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 530.

391

"Those seven holy ones brought me and set me on the earth in front of the gate to my house. They said to me: 'Tell everything to your son Methuselah and show all your children that no human is righteous before the Lord, for he created them. We will leave you with your son for one year until (you receive) another order, to teach your children and write for them, and you will testify to all your children; in the second year they will take you from them.'" Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 530.

392

"Now my son Methuselah, I am telling you all these things and am writing (them) down. I have revealed all of them to you and have given you the books about all these things. My son, keep the book written by your father so that you may give (it) to the generations of the world." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 546.

393

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 550.

394

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 521.

395

Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 187.

396

Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 88.

397

Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 89.

398

Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 89.

399

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 8.

400

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 451.

401

Argall sees parallels in Sirach. He points out that "when treating the hidden aspects of creation, both traditions employ the stylistic combination of onomastica and rhetorical questions, *1 Enoch* 93:11–14 may be compared with Sirach 1:3. The rhetorical questions related to cosmology can be answered by Enoch because he alone of all the sons of men journeyed throughout creation (*1 Enoch* 19:3). Similarly, the question in Sirach 1:3 about who can fathom the dimensions of the cosmos is taken up and answered by personified Wisdom in 24:3–7. Wisdom alone has traversed the creation (24:5)." Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 163.

402

See, for example, Gen 15:5, Job 38:3–5, Isa 40:12, *4 Ezra* 4:5–7, and *2 Bar.* 48:5.

403

Argall notes that "*1 Enoch* 93:11–14 combines the literary features of rhetorical questions and a catalogue of the hidden aspects of creation. Wisdom texts, such as Job 38–39 and Proverbs 30:1–4, also combine rhetorical questions and lists of places and things. The combination in Job and Proverbs makes the point that humankind cannot fathom the profound character of God's works in much of creation. In so-called apocalyptic literature, however, such combinations serve an entirely different purpose. Michael Stone suggests that some primitive formulaic lists were first modified by verbs and then expanded by references to regularity and proportionality. In *1 Enoch* 93:11–14, the speculative content of such lists has been further adapted to the interrogative formulation of the wisdom tradition. The rhetorical questions imply that human knowledge of (esoteric) created phenomena is now possible because it was revealed to Enoch and has been imparted to the righteous as an eschatological gift." Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 125.

404

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 451.

405

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 452.

406

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 452.

407

Nickelsburg's student Argall, following in the footsteps of his teacher, also argues that "*1 Enoch* 93:11–14 offers a summary of the hidden aspects of creation against the background of the *Book of the Watchers*. The rhetorical questions point to the uniqueness of Enoch as a revealer of wisdom. The content of his wisdom includes hidden phenomena throughout the cosmos. Enoch's knowledge of hidden things insures the validity of the Epistle's eschatological message." Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 127.

408

Harry Alan Hahne also points out that *1 Enoch* 11–14 "primarily highlights the value of the secret knowledge that Enoch has gained about the universe through revelation." Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, 182.

409

VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 92.

410

VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 92.

411

VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 92.

412

Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 237.

413

Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 237–238.

414

Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 238.

415

Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 241.

416

Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 242.

417

Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 241–242.

418

Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels: Teaching and Status,” 352.

419

Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels: Teaching and Status,” 352.

420

1 Enoch 52:1–9 reads, “After those days, in that place where I had seen all the visions of what is hidden — for I had been carried off in a whirlwind, and they had taken me to the West. There my eyes saw all the hidden things of heaven that will take place: a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead. And I asked the angel who went with me, ‘What are these things that I have seen in secret?’ And he said to me, ‘All these things that you have seen will be for the authority of his Anointed One, so that he may be powerful and mighty on the earth.’ And that angel of peace answered and said to me, ‘Wait a little while, and all the hidden things that surround the Lord of Spirits will be revealed to you. These mountains that your eyes saw—the mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver, and the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead – All these will be before the Chosen One like wax before the fire, and like the water that comes down from above upon these mountains, and they will be weak before his feet. And in those days, none will save himself either by gold or silver, and none will be able a to flee. And there will not be iron for war, nor a garment for a breastplate; copper will be of no use, and tin a will be reckoned as nothing, and lead will not be desired. All these will be rejected and be destroyed from the face of the earth, when the Chosen One appears before the Lord of Spirits.’” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 187.

421

“Asael taught men to make swords of iron and weapons and shields and breastplates and every instrument of war.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 188.

422

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 142; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.120–121.

423

Nickelsburg points out that “the term ‘storehouses, storerooms, or treasuries’ (*mazāgebt* = θησαυροί = Aram. אוצרין; Heb. אוצרים) suggests that heaven is a great palace in whose storage magazines the Creator King keeps the materials that are employed for the operation of his cosmic realm.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 228–229.

424

VanderKam, “The Book of Parables within the Enoch Tradition,” 93.

425

Deut 28:12: “The Lord will open for you his rich storehouse (אוצרו), the heavens, to give the rain of your land in its season and to bless all your undertakings. You will lend to many nations, but you will not borrow.”

426

Jer 10:13: “When he utters his voice, there is a tumult of waters in the heavens, and he makes the mist rise from the ends of the earth. He makes lightnings for the rain, and he brings out the wind from his storehouses (מאצרותיו).”

427

Jer 51:16: “When he utters his voice there is a tumult of waters in the heavens, and he makes the mist rise from the ends of the earth. He makes lightnings for the rain, and he brings out the wind from his storehouses (מאצרותיו).”

428

Ps 135:7: “He it is who makes the clouds rise at the end of the earth; he makes lightnings for the rain and brings out the wind from his storehouses (מאוצרותיו).”

429

Job 38:22: “Have you entered the storehouses (ואצרות) of the snow, or have you seen the storehouses of the hail.”

430

Sir 43:13–14: “By his command he sends the driving snow and speeds the lightnings of his judgment. Therefore, the storehouses (θησαυροί) are opened, and the clouds fly out like birds.”

431

4 Ezra 5:37: “open for me the closed treasuries and bring forth for me the winds shut up in them.” M. E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MI: Fortress, 1990) 133.

432

4 Ezra 6:40: “Then thou didst command that a ray of light be brought forth from thy treasuries, so that thy works might then appear.” Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 178. On these traditions, see Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 139.

433

2 Enoch 5:2 (L): “And there I perceived the treasuries of the snow and the ice, and the angels who guard their terrible storehouses, and the treasury of the clouds, from which they come out and go in.” Andersen. “2 Enoch,” 1.112.

434

2 Enoch 6:1 (L): “And they [angels] showed me the treasuries of the dew, like olive oil. And the appearance of its image was like every kind of earthly flower, only more numerous; and the angels who storehousing their treasuries, how they are shut and opened.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112.

435

2 Enoch 40:10–11 (L): “I wrote down the treasuries of the snow, and the storehouses of the cold, and the frosty winds. And I observed how, depending on the season, their custodians fill up the clouds with them, and their treasuries are not emptied. I wrote down the sleeping chambers of the winds, and I observed, and I saw how their custodians carry scales and measures.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.166.

436

Scholars also see applications of storehouses/treasuries imagery in the Dead Sea Scrolls. *1QH* IX 11–15 reads, “You yourself stretched out the heavens for our glory, and all [] you [de]termined according to your will, and powerful spirits according to their laws, before they

came to be ho[ly] angels [and] eternal spirits in their dominion: luminaries according to their mysteries, stars according to [their] paths, [stor]m [winds] according to their task, shooting stars and lightning according to their service, and storehouses (ואוצרות) devised for th[eir] purposes [] according to their mysteries." *1QHodayot* (ed. H. Stegemann et al.; DJD, 40; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009) 118 and 130. On these traditions, see J. Ben-Dov, "Exegetical Notes on Cosmology in the Parables of Enoch," in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 143–150 at 147; G. Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology: Evaluating Parallels in the Ethiopic Parables of Enoch and 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," *JSP* 29 (2019) 79–99 at 91. Macaskill points also to *b. Hag.* 12b: "Makon is that in which there are the stores of snow and stores of hail, and the loft of harmful dews and the loft of raindrops, the chamber of the whirlwind and storm, and the cave of vapour, and their doors are of fire, for it is said: The Lord will open unto thee His good treasure." For the discussion of this talmudic tradition, see Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 88, 92–93.

437

Jer 10:13 (51:16) LXX: "and he brought out light from his storehouses." A. Pietersma et al., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 891; *4 Ezra* 6:40: "Then thou didst command that a ray of light be brought forth from thy treasuries." Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 178.

438

4 Ezra 4:35: "Did not the souls of the righteous in their treasuries ask about these matters." Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 90; *4 Ezra* 4:41: "The underworld and the treasuries of the souls are like the womb." Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 90; *4 Ezra* 7:80: "such souls shall not enter into treasuries." Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 235; *2 Bar.* 21:23: "and let the treasuries of the souls restore those who are enclosed in them." Klijn, "2 Baruch," 1.628; *LAB* 32:13: " … go and tell the fathers in the chambers of their souls." H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, with Latin Text and English Translation* (2 vols.; AGAJU, 31; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 151.

439

1 Enoch 11:1: "Then I shall open the storehouses of blessing that are in heaven; and make them descend upon the earth, upon the works and the labor of the sons of men." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 216.

440

2 Enoch 22:11 (L): "And the Lord said to Vrevoil, 'Bring out the books from my storehouses.'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.140.

441

1 Enoch 17:3 speaks about "the treasuries of the stars and of the thunder": "And I saw the place of the luminaries and the treasuries (θησαυρούς) of the stars and of the thunders, and to the depths of the ether, where the bow of fire and the arrows and their quivers (were) and the sword of fire and all the lightnings." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 30. See also *1 Enoch* 11:1: "Then I shall open the storehouses (ταμεῖα/መዛግብተ) of blessing that are in heaven; and make them descend upon the earth, upon the works and the labor of the sons of men." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 216; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 27; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.40.

442

1 Enoch 18:1: "I saw the treasuries (θησαυρούς /መዛግብተ) of all the winds. I saw how through them he ordered all created things." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 276; Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 31; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.66. VanderKam also notes that "the expression 'the storehouses of the winds' in *1 Enoch* 41:4 echoes *1 Enoch* 18:1." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 295–296. On this, see also Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography*,

100–101.

443

Thus, Macaskill suggests that “in a limited sense … the use of storehouse imagery in 17:3 and 18:1 might have contributed to its occurrence in the *Parables* and in *2 Enoch*.” Macaskill, “Meteorology and Metrology,” 87.

444

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 143.

445

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 57. In another section of the Hermeneia commentary, Nickelsburg points out that “the construal of the heavenly elements with reference to the storehouses in which they are kept rather than the ‘gates’ through which they emerge differentiates the cosmic material in the *Parables* from their counterparts in the *Book of the Luminaries* … . The two terms are, of course, complementary; storehouses must have doors through which their contents are brought out, and perhaps one should not make too much of it.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 229.

446

Ben-Dov, “Exegetical Notes,” 145. Responding to Ben-Dov’s suggestion, Macaskill points out that “Ben-Dov is undoubtedly correct that the two concepts have become closely associated, and … I find his analysis of the texts to be convincing. I am less convinced, however, that the terms have become interchangeable in the way that he suggests.” Macaskill, “Meteorology and Metrology,” 83.

447

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 224; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.164.

448

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 224.

449

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112. Macaskill points out that “both the *Parables of Enoch* and *2 Enoch* link the imagery of the storehouses and that of the balance to the activity of angelic figures who are responsible for the oversight and management of the meteorological elements. This sets these works apart from the biblical texts, which represent the management of the elements as something done by God himself.” Macaskill, “Meteorology and Metrology,” 98.

450

1 Enoch 69:23 describes the storehouses of hail, hoarfrost, rain, and dew: “And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings. And there are preserved the storehouses of the hail and the storehouses of the hoarfrost, and the storehouses of the mist and the storehouses of the rain and the dew.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 304.

451

1 Enoch 54:7 speaks about the storehouses of the waters: “he will open all the chambers (መዛግብት) of the waters that are above the heavens.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 198; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.149.

452

1 Enoch 71:4: “And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of heaven and all the treasuries (መዛግብተ) of the stars.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 320; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.210.

453

Knibb, “Enoch and Wisdom,” 268; VanderKam, “The Book of Parables within the Enoch Tradition,” 92; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 295–296.

454

Macaskill, “Meteorology and Metrology,” 97.

455

For the discussion of the secrets’ subjects in the *Similitudes*, see L. W. Walck, *The Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch and in Matthew* (JCTCRS, 9; London: T&T Clark, 2011) 68–69.

456

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 226.

457

“And there my eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings and the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow upon the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and the dew. And there I saw whence they proceed in that place, and from there they saturate the dust of the earth.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 142.

458

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 225.

459

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 224; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.158–159.

460

1 Enoch 49:2: “For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness (ኅቡኣተ፡ ጽድቅ፡).” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 166; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.137.

461

1 Enoch 58:5: “And after this it will be said to the holy ones, that they should seek in heaven the secrets of righteousness (ኅቡኣተ፡ ጽድቅ፡), the lot of faith.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 217; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.158.

462

1 Enoch 71:3–4: “And the angel Michael, one of the archangels, took me by my right hand and raised me up, and he brought me out to all the secrets; and he showed me all the secrets of mercy, and he showed me all the secrets of righteousness (ኅቡኣተ፡ ጽድቅ፡). And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of heaven and all the treasuries of the stars, and all the luminaries go forth from there before the holy ones.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 320; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.210. In *1 Enoch* 41:1, Enoch sees secrets that appear to be also related to the subject of human ethical behavior (“human deeds”): “And after this, I saw all the secrets of heaven, how the kingdom is divided, and how human deeds are weighed in the balance.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 136.

463

Walck points out that “occasionally, the secrets of the cosmological and meteorological working of the universe are noted in conjunction with the secrets of the judgment and future events (41:1–9; 60:11; 71:3–4). While the revelation about judgment and the reversal of fortunes seems to be the major emphasis of *Par. En*., the claim that the seer also knows the cosmological and meteorological secrets authenticates the major emphasis. The relation between the two areas of secret knowledge seems to be that if the seer knows one area, then surely his knowledge is trustworthy in the other area as well. Thus, while sometimes only the cosmological and meteorological secrets are mentioned, and at other times secrets about the judgment are claimed, actually the two are conjoined with the first area authenticating the second area.” Walck, *The Son of Man*, 68–69.

464

Walck, *The Son of Man*, 69.

465

Walck, *The Son of Man*, 70. Walck's insights are helpful. Yet, as our study has already demonstrated, the meaning of the cosmological revelations in the *Similitudes* and other Enochic booklets cannot be reduced to a single theological dimension.

466

1 Enoch 51:3: "And the Chosen One, in those days, will sit upon my throne, and all the secrets of wisdom will go forth from the counsel of his mouth." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 180.

467

Knibb, "Enoch and Wisdom," 262. In another section of his article, Knibb adds that "much more frequently, however, the secrets are mentioned in connection with Enoch himself, and it is these references, which are concerned both with the future judgement and with the cosmos … . We are repeatedly told in the Parables either that the angel who accompanies Enoch shows him everything secret or that Enoch sees all the secrets, and a statement in 68:1, which looks as if it originally formed a conclusion, characterizes the *Book of Parables* as if it were essentially a collection of all the secrets that Enoch saw or was shown." Knibb, "Enoch and Wisdom," 265–266.

468

1 Enoch 69:8: "And the name of the fourth is Pēnēmue. This one showed the sons of men the bitter and the sweet and showed them all the secrets of their wisdom." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 297.

469

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 273.

470

Reflecting on the Watchers' secrets, Walck points out that "another kind of personage connected with the secrets is the fallen angels. In the *Book of the Watchers*, the fallen watchers have inappropriately revealed secrets to humanity, and so they receive God's condemnation (16:3) This idea reappears in *Par. En.*, in the Noachic section, where Noah hears from Enoch that a command has gone out from God regarding humanity who have learned from the secrets of the angels and perpetrated inappropriate activities such as sorcery, magical spells, and idolatry (65:6). In the list of angels, in the Noachic section, the angels and their wrongdoings are specified. Pēnēmue is accused of having taught humanity the secrets of sophistry (or the 'secrets of wisdom') in an inappropriate manner (69:8) and of having taught them to write with pen and ink (69:9–12), which was not fitting and yielded the result of human destruction. Kasbeʾel is also accused of seeking to discover from Michael the hidden Name, so that he might use it in an oath, which would cause his fellow fallen watchers, who had revealed the secrets to humanity, to tremble before him (69:14–16). Thus, sometimes heavenly secrets can be inappropriately revealed, as the fallen watchers had done with detrimental effects for the humans who learned those secrets." Walck, *The Son of Man*, 66–67.

471

Knibb suggests that "in the light of the evidence of the Ethiopic and Greek texts of Dan 2 and 4:4 and of other passages in the Hebrew Bible, it seems very likely that *zä-ḫəbuʾ* and *ḫəbuʾat* in the Ethiopic version of the *Book of Parables* will have been based on τὸ μυστήριον/τὰ μυστήρια and/or τὰ κρυπτά or τὰ ἀπόκρυφα in the underlying Greek version, and that the Greek in turn—depending on whether the Parables were composed in Aramaic or in Hebrew —will have been based on רזיא or רזים and/or מסתרתא or נסתרות, and this is only what we would

have expected." Knibb, "Enoch and Wisdom," 263.

472

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 188. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 22.

473

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 202. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 24; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.26.

474

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 215. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 25.

475

Only in the Ethiopic text.

476

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 267. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 30; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.63–64.

477

Knibb, "Enoch and Wisdom," 266.

478

Cf. *1 Enoch* 106:13: "παρέβησαν τὸν λόγον κυρίου ἀπὸ τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ οὐρανοῦ." Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 44.

479

The symbolism of the "righteous balance" has some parallels in biblical and extra-biblical literature. It is found in Job 31:6: "let me be weighed in a just balance (במאזני-צדק), and let God know my integrity!", Ezek 45:10: "You shall have righteous balances (מאזני-צדק), an honest ephah, and an honest bath," and 4Q418 127 6: "For with righteous balances (במוזני צדק) He has weighed out all their measurement." J. Strugnell and D. J. Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsār lĕ Mēvîn): 4Q415 ff.* (DJD, 34; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 357–358. On these traditions, see D. Dimant, "4 Ezra and 2 Baruch in the Light of Qumran Literature," in: *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction After the Fall in Light of Qumran Literature* (ed. M. Henze, G. Boccaccini, and J. M. Zurawski; JSJSS, 164; Leiden: Brill, 2013) 31–62 at 41–42; A. Gayer, *Measurements of Wisdom: The Measuring and Weighing Motif in the Wisdom Composition Instruction, and in Second Temple Literature* (Ph.D. diss.; University of Haifa, 2021) [Hebrew]; M. J. Goff, *4QInstruction* (WLAW, 2; Atlanta: SBL, 2013) 276–277; Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 167–175; J.-S. Rey, *4QInstruction: sagesse et eschatology* (STDJ, 81; Leiden: Brill, 2009) 144–153; N. Shupak, "Weighing in the Scales: How an Egyptian Concept Made Its Way into Biblical and Postbiblical Literature," in: *From Author to Copyist: Composition, Redaction, and Transmission of the Hebrew Bible: Studies in Honor of Zipi Talshir* (ed. C. Werman; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015) 249–258 at 255; E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ, 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 242.

480

Himmelfarb notes that "the use of natural phenomena in the *Similitudes* … develops one of the themes of the *Book of the Watchers*, the contrast between nature's faithfulness and humanity's faithlessness. It develops the analogy by describing God's judgment of natural phenomena as well as of humanity; both are weighed in the righteous balance (ch. 43, nature; 61:8, people)." Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 82. For the righteous balance as an instrument of judgment, see also Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 250.

481

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 142; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.124–125. The imagery of balance is also hinted in *1 Enoch* 60:12 where Enoch sees "how the winds are divided and how they are weighed." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 224.

482

Scholars have previously noted these correspondences. Hahne acknowledges these dimensions by suggesting that "each part of the natural world is judged to verify its proper operation: Each star is 'weighed in a righteous balance' to determine whether it moves in its assigned path at the assigned time and produces the proper amount of light (43:2; 61:8; cf. Job 31:6). Natural objects are held morally accountable and they are found to 'keep the faith' (43:2) … So nature is not a clockwork that God set in motion, but a collection of individual conscious personalities with the power of choice who obey the Lord perfectly and operate in complete harmony with each other. It is also implied that angels are assigned to each aspect of nature to ensure that it operates properly." Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, 237–238.

483

Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 203–204.

484

Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," 429.

485

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 142.

486

Reflecting on these correspondences, de Villiers points out that "perhaps the most striking link is the extraordinary manner in which the stars and sun/moon are said to keep faith with one another in 41:5, and the belief of the righteous which is delineated in 43:4. In these cosmological parts the divine creation and structuring of the world are accentuated. Each heavenly object has its allocated position and reveals a fixed order or law in its movements. At the same time the believers are delineated as those who, like the heavenly objects, direct their lives in accordance with this divine structure. They too submit themselves to God and his will." de Villiers, "Revealing the Secrets: Wisdom and the World in the Similitudes of Enoch," 57.

487

Müller, "Die hebräische Sprache der Halacha als Textur der Schöpfung," 171.

488

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 136; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.119. On righteous scales, see *Test. Abr.* chs. 12–14, D. C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham* (CEJL; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003) 271; Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif*, 100–101.

489

"This is the interpretation of the matter: MENE, God has numbered the days of your kingdom and brought it to an end; TEKEL, you have been weighed on the scales and found wanting; PERES, your kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians."

490

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 137. Reflecting on Nickelsburg's hypothesis, Macaskill points out that "the suggestion that Dan 5:26–28 might have distinctively influenced *1 Enoch* 41:1, most recently made by Nickelsburg, is not without substance, but neither is it strictly necessary when the imagery was so common in relation to concepts of justice." Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 90.

491

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 247.

492

Macaskill suggests that "the language of the 'righteous/just balance' is probably influenced by Job 31:6, where it is used of Job's hope that he will be judged fairly." Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 90.

493

Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 85.

494

Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 85.

495

Reflecting on the righteous balance, Nickelsburg points out that "that the balance is 'righteous' emphasizes the rightness and order of God's creation, and it may allude to the connection between the stars and the righteous that will become explicit in 43:4." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 146. Michael Stone also sees a connection between measuring natural phenomena and human righteousness, noting that "as was true too of the stars, no real distinction between the meteorological and other eschatological or religious spheres. In *1 Enoch* 61:1–4, the element of measuring is clear and explicit, but the righteous are measured." Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," 433.

496

Reflecting on the importance of the category of "righteousness" in Jewish wisdom traditions, Leo Perdue points out that "in their social construction of reality, the sages developed a paradigm of order (*ṣdq*) that integrates three separate spheres: cosmology, society, and human nature. *Ṣedeq* refers to the 'righteous order' of the cosmos that is to permeate social institutions, particular the rule and judicial decisions of kings (Prov 8:15–16, 25:5, 31:9), while *ṣedaqa* "righteousness" is the behavior of those who both actualize and live in harmony with the righteous order (Prov 10:2, 11:4, 6, 19, 14:34, 21:3)." L. G. Perdue, "Cosmology and the Social Order in the Wisdom Tradition," in: *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (eds. J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 457–78 at 458.

497

Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 153. Kister points out that "'measurement' is essential for appropriate human activity in both the mundane and spiritual realms. The divine measurements apply to God's action in nature and in history, to His laws and to His relation to humanity (especially to His elected group)." Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 154.

498

As in the Psalms of Solomon 5:4, "man and his portion are before you in the balance; he cannot increase [it], so as to enlarge [it], beyond your judgment, O God."

499

Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 154.

500

On various titles of the Son of Man in the *Similitudes*, see J. C. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71," in: *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins* (eds. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; Minneapolis, MI: Fortress, 1992) 169–91.

501

On this, see VanderKam, "Righteous One," 182–183; Orlov, *The Greatest Mirror*, 13–16.

502

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 142.

503

On this tradition, see Orlov, *Yahoel and Metatron*, 152–163. On Enoch's association with the divine Name in later Jewish and Muslim materials, see Reeves and Reed, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, 71, 186.

504

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 166.

505

C. Gieschen, "The Name of the Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch," in: *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007) 238–49 at 240. See also S. R. Scott, "The Binitarian Nature of the Book of Similitudes," *JSP* 18 (2008) 55–78.

506

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 166.

507

Gieschen, "The Name of the Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch," 240.

508

Gieschen observes that "similar to Daniel 7, the 'Son of Man' in *1 Enoch* 37–71 is closely identified with 'the Ancient of Days,' who is also known as 'the Lord of the Spirits,' by sharing the divine throne (51:3; 69:29). Especially crucial for this discussion is the depiction of this Son of Man as a preexistent being (42:7; 62:7) who possessed the 'hidden name' (69:14) before creation (48:2) … . There is no doubt that 'the name' by which the Son of Man 'was named' is the divine Name because there are numerous references to 'the name of the Lord of the Spirits' throughout the *Similitudes*." C. Gieschen, "The Divine Name in the Ante-Nicene Christology," *VC* 57 (2003) 115–58 at 124.

509

Gieschen, "The Name of the Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch," 238.

510

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 311.

511

Gieschen, "The Name of the Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch," 241.

512

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 247.

513

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 297.

514

Thus, reflecting on *1 Enoch* 69:9, Nickelsburg points out that "even more obscure and peculiar is the idea expressed in vv. 9–11. At a number of points, the Enochic corpus emphasizes its writtenness (see 82:1–3; 104:12–13) and its author's role as a scribe (13:4–6; 15:1; 92:1; see also 83:2), although this element is mentioned only once in passing in the Parables (40:8). Nonetheless, in this broader context, which existed when the Parables were composed, it is odd to find writing described as a function of demonic revelation that—like war—has existed over the span of human history." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 302.

515

VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.25–26.

516

Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Watchers," 355.

517

Stone notes that "we can compare the misuse of writing with the misuse of metalworking. Both of them are cases of skills which can be used either wickedly or well." Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Watchers," 356.

518

In contrast to *1 Enoch*, *Jub.* 4:15 postulates that the Watchers were initially sent by God to teach: "He named him Jared because during his lifetime the angels of the Lord who were called Watchers descended to earth to teach mankind and to do what is just and upright upon the earth." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.25. See also the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*: "He said to them: 'Descend and dwell ye among them.' Forthwith the Holy One allowed the evil inclination to rule over them, as soon as they descended. When they beheld the daughters of man that they were beautiful, they began to corrupt themselves with them." Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 327.

519

The change of the Watchers' ontology, most explicitly narrated in the *Animal Apocalypse*, shows their transformation from the stars into the animals, which in the symbolic code of this Enochic account signifies their transition from an angelic to a human condition.

520

Reed notes that "the catalogue of fallen angels and their teachings in the *Book of the Watchers* … embody the claims of comprehensiveness in the totalizing cosmological knowledge of Enoch." Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism*, 238.

521

On these titles, see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 50–58.

522

Reflecting on use of this term, Jonathan Sterne explains that "*techné* is a Greek word, and it is addressed in the writings of many of the ancient Greek thinkers … Aristotle most famously designated *techné* as practical art and practical knowledge. For him, *techné* meant both the process of producing things in the world (crafts, for instance) and the capacity or knowledge of contingency – practical knowledge – that allows and accounts for that production … . As Heidegger wrote of this section in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, *techné* 'reveals whatever does not bring itself forth and does not yet lie before us, whatever can look and turn out now one way and now another.' *Techné* is meant to be distinguished from abstract knowledge, which Aristotle called *epistêmê*." J. Sterne, "Techné," in*: Communication As –: Perspectives on Theory* (eds. G. J. Shepherd et al.; London: Sage Publications, 2006) 91–98 at 91–92. On the Watchers' and Enoch's mysteries as *technai*, see Reed, "Gendering Heavenly Secrets?" 118; idem, "Beyond Revealed Wisdom and Apocalyptic Epistemology: Early Christian Transformations of Enochic Traditions about Knowledge," in: *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality, Volume 1: Thematic Studies* (eds. C. A. Evans and H. D. Zacharias; London: T&T Clark, 2009) 138–164 at 144; idem, "'Ancient Jewish Sciences' and the Historiography of Judaism," in: *Ancient Jewish Sciences and the History of Knowledge in Second Temple Literature* (ed. J. Ben-Dov and S. L. Sanders; New York: New York University Press, 2014) 195–254 at 207; Sanders, "I Was Shown Another Calculation," 101.

523

Reed notes that "Enoch does not even enter the narrative world of the *Book of the Watchers* (i.e., *1 Enoch* 6ff) until his scribal *technai* are needed to open a line of communication between earth and heaven." Reed, *Demons, Angels, and Writing in Ancient Judaism*, 238.

524

VanderKam reminds us that Enoch's "unusual age of removal – 365 – is the equivalent in years of the number of days in a solar year." VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 7. This number receives a special significance in *2 Enoch* where Enoch's ascent and his initiation into the divine mysteries occur precisely on his 365th birthday. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 1:1–2 reads, "And at that time Enoch said, 'When 365 years were complete for me, in the first month, on the assigned day of the first month, I was in my house alone.'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.105. *2 Enoch* 66:8 (LR) also affirms the cosmological significance of the number seven when it speaks about the "sevenfold" nature of "ideal" creation: "For in that age everything is estimated sevenfold – light and darkness and food and enjoyment and misery and paradise and tortures fire, frost, et cetera. All this I have put down in writing, so that you might read it and think about it." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.194. This phrase is reminiscent of *1 Enoch* 93:10 where, in the eschaton, the chosen will be given "sevenfold wisdom and knowledge": "And at its conclusion, the chosen will be chosen, as witnesses of righteousness from the everlasting plant of righteousness, to whom will be given sevenfold wisdom and knowledge." On this tradition, see L. T. Stuckenbruck, "4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions: An Evaluation," in: *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; BETL, 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002) 245–261 at 259ff.

525

Reflecting on these calendrical patterns, Helen Jacobus points out that "knowledge of a sevenfold calendar consisting of a fixed pattern of months, weeks of jubilees and sabbaths of years driven by an astronomical order led by the sun, may be part of that knowledge in the theology of *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 2:8–10; cf. 4Q216 col. vi lines 5–9); however, the fixed, 52-week year Jubilean calendar is absent from *1 Enoch*. The age of Enoch, 365 years (Gen 5:23), the number of days in the solar year, is a linking underlying theme between the two books." H. R. Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls and their Reception: Ancient Astronomy and Astrology in Early Judaism* (IJS Studies in Judaica, 14; Leiden: Brill, 2014) 227. David Miano also suggests that "in the Bible, the number of years in the lifespan of Enoch (Gen 5:23) may be a symbolic figure based on the length of the tropical year." D. Miano, *Shadow on the Steps: Time Measurement in Ancient Israel* (SBL Resources for Biblical Studies, 64; Atlanta: SBL, 2010) 30. In another part of his study, Miano remarks that "the age for Enoch at his death (365), often remarked to be based on the number of days in a solar year." Miano, *Shadow on the Steps*, 75.

526

J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 55.

527

M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 16.

528

On this, see A. A. Orlov, "Glorification through Fear in 2 Enoch," *JSP* 25 (2016) 171–188.

529

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 234. See also *1 Enoch* 1:5: "All the watchers will fear and <quake>, and those who are hiding in all the ends of the earth will sing. All the ends of the earth will be shaken, and trembling and great fear will seize them (the watchers) unto the ends of the earth." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 142.

530

Gen 3:8: “They heard the sound of the Lord God walking in the garden at the time of the evening breeze, and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God among the trees of the garden.”

531

I. D. Wilson, “‘Face to Face’ with God: Another Look,” *ResQ* 51 (2009) 107–114 at 109.

532

For the background of such understanding, see also Orlov, *Embodiment of Divine Knowledge in Early Judaism*, 3–4.

533

On a connection between marital unions and transmission of knowledge, see B. Pongratz-Leisten, “Sacred Marriage and the Transfer of Divine Knowledge: Alliances Between the Gods and the King in Ancient Mesopotamia,” in: *Sacred Marriages: The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity* (eds. M. Nissinen and R. Uro; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008) 43–73; H. S. Kvanvig, “The Mesopotamian Background of the Watcher Story,” *Henoch* 39 (2017) 134–155 at 148–149.

534

On women as recipients of the heavenly secrets, see L. Arcari, “Are Women the Aition for the Evil in the World? George Syncellus’ Version of 1 Enoch 8:1 in Light of Hesiod’s Theogony and Works and Days,” *Henoch* 34:1 (2012) 5–20; V. Bachmann, “Illicit Male Desire or Illicit Female Seduction?” in: *Early Jewish Writings* (eds. E. Schuller and M.-T. Wacker; BW, 3.1; Atlanta: SBL, 2017) 113–142; R. Lesses, “‘They Revealed Secrets to Their Wives’: The Transmission of Magical Knowledge in *1 Enoch*,” in: *With Letters of Light: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Jewish Apocalypticism, Magic and Mysticism* (ed. D. Arbel and A. A. Orlov; Ekstasis, 2; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011) 196–222; idem, “The Most Worthy of Women is a Mistress of Magic: Women as Witches and Ritual Practitioners in 1 Enoch and Rabbinic Sources,” in: *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World* (ed. K. B. Stratton and D. S. Kalleres; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 72–107; Reed, “Gendering Heavenly Secrets?” 108–151; T. Ilan, “Women in the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha,” in: *A Question of Sex? Gender and Difference in the Hebrew Bible and Beyond* (ed. D. W. Rooke; HBM, 14; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2007) 126–144 at 133–134.

535

Rebecca Lesses argues that the *Book of the Watchers* “sets up a gendered dichotomy between the Watchers’ human wives and Enoch; women are recipients only of rejected mysteries, while Enoch learns the true secrets of heaven from the revealing angels when he ascends to heaven alive.” Lesses, “‘They Revealed Secrets to Their Wives,’” 196. Reed, however, nuances Lesses’ position by noting that the recipients of the Watchers’ secrets had included males: “the skills said to be taught by the Watchers, as we shall see, are not unambiguously ‘magical’, nor are they solely associated with women; the ‘sons of men’ are also among the Watchers’ students, and it is not always clear which teachings were for women and/or men.” Reed, “Gendering Heavenly Secrets?” 113. In another part of her study, Reed concludes that “the Watchers’ teachings – in other words – are not limited to women, nor is it easy to determine which teachings were for women and which for men.” Reed, “Gendering Heavenly Secrets?” 117. Reed’s observations are helpful. Yet, since female recipients are markedly absent in Enoch’s transmission of celestial knowledge, the Watchers’ teachings to women deserves additional attention.

536

On the background of Enoch’s family transmission in the Mesopotamian materials, see Orlov,

The Enoch-Metatron Tradition, 30–34.

537

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.139.

538

On the possible etymology of this angelic name, see F. Badalanova Geller, “Heavenly Writings: Celestial Cosmography in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch,” *Старобългарска литература* 45–46 (2012) 197–244 at 214–217. For possible identification of Vereveil/Vrevoil with Uriel, see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 110–111; 172–173.

539

2 Enoch 23:1. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.140.

540

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.143. In the longer recension Enoch is placed to the left of the deity *with Gabriel*. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.142.

541

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.142*. 2 Enoch* 24:3 (shorter recension): “And not even to my angels have I explained my secrets, nor related to them their composition, nor my endless and inconceivable creation which I conceived, as I am making them known to you today.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.143.

542

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 3:1. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.110.

543

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 3:2. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.110; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 46. Andersen notes that the manuscripts “J and R agree that Enoch distinguished the air *vŭzdukh* from the *aierĭ*, borrowing this Greek word to designate the ether.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.110. In the beginning of his journey in *1 Enoch* 17:3, Enoch also sees “deep air” or as Nickelsburg translates it “the depth of the ether (ἀεροβαθῆ).” On ἀεροβαθῆ, see D. Hamidović, “1 Enoch 17 in the Geneva Papyrus 187,” in: *Apocryphal and Esoteric Sources in the Development of Christianity and Judaism: The Eastern Mediterranean, the Near East, and Beyond* (ed. I. Dorfmann-Lazarev; TSEC, 21; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021) 439–451 at 445–446.

544

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 3:3. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.110. On the rulers of the stellar orders, see Charles and Forbes, “The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,” 2.432; Badalanova Geller, “Heavenly Writings,” 207–208.

545

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 4:1. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.110; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 48.

546

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 4:2. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.110.

547

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 4:2. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.111.

548

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.110.

549

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112. The shorter recension refers to the terrible angels instead of the

terrible storehouses: “And they showed me there the treasuries of the snow and the cold, terrible angels are guarding the treasuries.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.113.

550

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112.

551

Badalanova Geller, “Heavenly Writings,” 208.

552

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 7:1 reads, “and those men picked me up and brought me up to the second heaven. And they showed me, and I saw a darkness greater than earthly darkness. And there I perceived prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112.

553

The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 7:2. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.113.

554

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.114.

555

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 8:3. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.114.

556

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 8:8. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.116.

557

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 11:1. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.120; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 68.

558

Cf. *1 Enoch* 72:37: “Its [sun’s] light is seven times brighter than that of the moon, but the size of the two is equal.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 417.

559

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 11:2. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.120. Enoch’s measuring activities are attested in both recensions. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 11:2 reads, “I measured their movements. I compared their light. And I saw that the sun has a light seven times greater than the sun(!). Their circle and their chariots on which each of them rides, passing like the wind.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.121.

560

The shorter recension speaks of only four stars, without mentioning 1000 stars under them.

561

Cf. *1 Enoch* 75:4: “In the same way Uriel showed me twelve gates open in the disc of *the sun’s chariot* in the sky from which the rays of the sun come out and from which its heat comes out upon the earth when they are opened at the times stipulated for them.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 463.

562

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 11:3. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.120.

563

The phoenixes and the khalkedras are not mentioned in the shorter recension, instead, it mentions only the “flying spirits.”

564

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 12:2. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.122.

565

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 13:1. Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.122. In the shorter recension the sun goes out through the gates “according to the appointed seasons (по уставнымъ временемъ).” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.123; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 73.

566

Enoch’s measuring activities are attested in both recensions.

567

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 72.

568

Cf. Ms R: уставным врѣменем; Ms P: уставу врѣменемъ. Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 72.

569

Sreznevskij’s dictionary translates “устав” as “a compendium of laws or rules.” I. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka po pis’mennym pamjatnikam* (3 vols.; St. Petersburg: Tipografia Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, 1883–1912) 1278.

570

He notes that “as a modifier of *vrěmja*, *ustavĭnyi* has the idea of divine ordering. It translates *horismenos*, which in *1 Clem.* 20:3 describes the appointed courses along which the heavenly bodies ‘roll.’” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.123.

571

Andersen translates “устав ихъ” as “their organization.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.166.

572

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 152. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:8 offers a corrupted version of this terminology, replacing уставы ихъ (their laws) with the expression уста ихъ (their mouths). On this, see Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 153.

573

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.181; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 182–183. Macaskill translates *2 Enoch* 52:10 as “Cursed is the one who destroys the rules and restrictions of his fathers.” Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 304.

574

Rau, *Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs*, 204–208.

575

1 Enoch 72:2–3: “This is the first law of the luminaries: the luminary (called) the sun has its emergence through the heavenly gates in the east and its setting through the western gates of the sky. I saw six gates through which the sun emerges and six gates through which the sun sets.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 416.

576

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 404.

577

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 348.

578

Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 865, footnote 3. On *2 Enoch*'s calendar, see also Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.124–130; B. Lourié, "Calendrical Elements in 2 Enoch," in: *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch. No Longer Slavonic Only* (ed. A. A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini, and J. Zurawski; SJS, 4; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 191–219; Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 403–405; Rau, *Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs*, 203–209; Stökl Ben Ezra, "Halakha, Calendars, and the Provenances of 2 Enoch," 229–242; A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française* (Textes publiés par l'Institut d'études slaves, 4; Paris: L'Institut d'études slaves, 1952) 11–17.

579

Cf. *2 Enoch* 15:3 (L): "And they showed (показаша) me this calculation of the sun's movement." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.126; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 78; *2 Enoch* 16:1 (L): "And another calculation those men *showed* me, that of the moon, and all the movements and phases." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.126–130.

580

The ancient West Asian materials provide plenty of evidence that the units of time can be reified in spiritual beings, malevolent as well as benevolent. On reification of time units in the ancient Near Eastern and Jewish materials, see M. L. Barré, "Night," in: *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (eds. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 623–624; B. Becking, "Day," in: *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (eds. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, and P. W. van der Horst; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 221–223; A. Livingstone, "The Case of the Hemerologies: Official Cult, Learned Formulation and Popular Practice," in: *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East: Papers of the First Colloquium on the Ancient Near East—The City and Its Life, Held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo)* (ed. E. Matsushima; Heidelberg: Winter, 1993) 97–113; idem, "The Magic of Time," in: *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical, and Interpretive Perspectives* (eds. I. T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn; AMD, 1; Groningen: STYX Publications, 1999) 131–137; idem, "The Use of Magic in the Assyrian and Babylonian Hemerologies and Menologies," *SEL* 15 (1998) 59–67; C. Müller-Kessler, "A Charm against Demons of Time (with an Appendix by W. G. Lambert)," in: *Mining the Archives: Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday, 4 October 2002* (ed. C. Wunsch; Babylonian Archive, 1; Dresden: ISLET, 2002) 183–189; S. B. Noegel, "Job iii 5 in the Light of Mesopotamian Demons of Time," *VT* 57 (2007) 556–562. On reification of calendrical knowledge in *1 Enoch*, see Sanders, "I Was Shown Another Calculation," 71.

581

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 17:1. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.130.

582

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 86. For a discussion of this terminology, see Badalanova Geller, "Celestial Landscapes and Heavenly Ascents," 219–221; idem, "Unde malum?," 12–13.

583

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.130. Emphasis mine.

584

George Nickelsburg notices that the division of the fallen angels into two groups is also reminiscent of some early Enochic developments attested already in *1 Enoch*. He observes that "in his description of the rebel angels the seer distinguishes between two groups, as does *1 Enoch*: the *egregoroi* ('watchers'), who sinned with the women (*2 Enoch* 18); and their 'brethren' (18:7), called 'apostates' (chap. 7), who may correspond to the angels as revealers." G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis, MI: Fortress, 2005) 222.

585

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:2. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.130.

586

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.131–133.

587

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 18:3–5 reads, "These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness. And three of them descended to the earth from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon. And they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Ermon. And they saw the daughters of men, how beautiful they were; and they took wives for themselves, and the earth was defiled by their deeds." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.130–132.

588

Reed suggests that "the seven angels whom Enoch meets in the sixth heaven in *2 Enoch* recall the seven angels who watch over the inhabited world in the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 20:1–8); for, indeed, just as the Enoch of the *Book of the Watchers* first sees the prisons of the fallen angels and stars (18–19), and then encounters the seven guardian angels of the world (*1 Enoch* 20:1–8), so the eponymous sage of *2 Enoch* first meets the Grigori (i.e., Watchers) in the fifth heaven, then ascends to the sixth, where he sees seven angels who 'study the peaceful order of the stars, the birth of the sun and the moon.'" A. Y. Reed, "2 Enoch and the Trajectories of Jewish Cosmology: From Mesopotamian Astronomy to Greco-Egyptian Philosophy in Roman Egypt," *JJTP* 2(1) (2014) 1–24 at 12.

589

The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 20:1. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.135.

590

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 20:3: "And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel. And he said to me, 'Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up and come with me and stand in front of the face of the Lord forever.'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.136.

591

2 Enoch 21:3: "And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel. And he said to me, 'Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up and come with me and stand in front of the face of the Lord forever.'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.136; *2 Enoch* 22:6: "And the Lord said to his servants, sounding them out, 'Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!'" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.138; *2 Enoch* 36:3: "Because a place has been prepared for you, and you will be in front of my face from now and forever." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.161.

592

On this, see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 153–156.

593

3 Enoch 28:1–6 reads, "Above all these are four great princes called Watchers and holy ones, high, honored, terrible, beloved, wonderful, noble, and greater than all the celestials, and among all the ministers there is none equal to them, for each of them singly is a match for all the others together. Their abode is opposite the throne of glory, and their station is facing the Holy One, blessed be he, so that the splendor of their abode resembles the splendor of the throne of glory, and the brilliance of their image is as the brilliance of the Šekinah. They receive glory from the glory of the Almighty and are praised with the praise of the Šekinah. Moreover, the Holy One, blessed be he, does nothing in his world without first taking counsel with them; then he acts, as it is written, 'Such is the sentence proclaimed by the Watchers, the

verdict announced by the holy ones.' There are two Watchers and two holy ones. How do they stand before the Holy One, blessed be he? It is taught that a Watcher stands on one side and a holy one on the other, and a Watcher stands on one side and a holy one on the other. They abase the arrogant to the earth and exalt the lowly on high." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.282–283.

594

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.140. The shorter recension simply states that the angel "was wise." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.141.

595

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 102–103. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 22:11 reads, "And the Lord said to Vrevoil, 'Bring out the books from my storehouses, and fetch a pen for speed-writing, and give it to Enoch and read him the books.' (And Vrevoil hurried and brought me the books,) a knife(?), and ink(?). And he gave me the pen for speed-writing from his hand." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.140. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 22:11 reads, "And the Lord said to Vereveil, 'Bring out the books from the storehouses, and give a pen to Enoch and read him the books.' And Vereveil hurried and brought me the books mottled with myrrh. And he gave me the pen from his hand." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.141.

596

1 Enoch 33:4: "He showed me and wrote down for me everything, and also he wrote down their names and their appointed times and their functions." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 329.

597

Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, 32; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 294.

598

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 550.

599

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.140.

600

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.140; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 104.

601

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.140.

602

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.141.

603

The word "storehouses" also appears in both recensions of *2 Enoch* 2:2. There, however, it does not have a technical meaning: "and the Lord will not be ungenerous with his donations and love-gifts in your storehouses (хранилницах)." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.108; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 44.

604

Macaskill points out that the terminology of the "storehouses" "found in *2 Enoch* 5:1–2 is subject to a degree of variation and, importantly, uses two different terms. The text of 5:1–2, in all of the manuscripts, repeatedly uses *sŭkrovišta/sokrovišta* (съкровища/сокровища), the word used to translate θησαυροί in, for example, the Old Church Slavonic translations of Job 38:22. The manuscripts also inconsistently use another word, *khranilitsę/e/a* (хранилиць҄/е/а), which designates a guarded place." Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 83.

605

Sreznevskij's dictionary translates "голоть" as ice, tracing it to the Greek κρύσταλλος.

Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, 546. On this term, see also Macaskill, “Meteorology and Metrology,” 84.

606

Andersen. “2 Enoch,” 1.112; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 50. The symbolism of the treasuries and the storehouses of meteorological incidents will appear in *3 Enoch*. *3 Enoch* 22B:3–4 speaks about treasuries of snow: “How many bridges are there? How many rivers of fire? How many rivers of hail? How many treasuries of snow? How many wheels of fire? How many ministering angels? There are 12,000 myriads of bridges, six above and six below; 12,000 myriads of rivers of fire, six above and six below; 12,000 treasuries of snow, six above and six below; 24,000 myriads of wheels of fire, twelve above and twelve below, surrounding the bridges, the rivers of fire, the rivers of hail, the treasuries of snow, and the ministering angels.” Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.304–305. From *3 Enoch* 37:2 we learn about “treasuries of lightning” and “storehouses of storm”: “between one tongue and another is a circle of treasuries of lightning; behind the treasuries of lightning is a circle of hurricane blasts; behind the hurricane blasts is a circle of storehouses of storm; behind the storehouses of storm is a circle of winds, thunderclaps, thunders, and sparks; behind the sparks is a circle of tremors.” Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.290; *3 Enoch* 22C:2 speaks about “the chambers of hail.” Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.306; *3 Enoch* 34:1 tells about “the upper chambers of storm wind.” Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.287. On Enoch-Metatron as an administrator of celestial treasuries and storehouses, see Reeves and Reed, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, 248.

607

Andersen. “2 Enoch,” 1.113; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 51.

608

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.112; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 52. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 6:1 reads, “And they showed me the treasuries of the dew, like olive oil. Angels were keeping (храняща) their treasuries; and their appearance was like every earthly flower.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.113; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 53.

609

Deut 28:12, Jer 10:13, Jer 51:16, Ps 135:7, Job 38:22, Sir 43:13–14, *4 Ezra* 5:37, *4 Ezra* 6:40.

610

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.140; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 102.

611

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.141; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 103.

612

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.315.

613

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.166; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 152. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:10–11 reads, “I, I wrote down (написах) the repositories of the snows, and the storehouses of the ice, and of every spirit of the cold. And I, I observed how, at certain seasons, their custodians (literally key-holders – ключари) fill up the clouds with them, and the treasuries are not emptied. I, I wrote down the chambers (ложнища) of the winds, and I, I observed and I saw how their custodians carry scales and measures.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.167; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 153. In *2 Enoch* 61:2 the terminology of “storehouses” (хранилищ) is applied also to the eschatological abodes of human beings: “Many shelters (многаа хранилища) have been prepared for people, good ones for the good, but bad ones for the bad, many, without number.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.186; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 204.

614

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 311. A similar tradition can be found in *Zohar* I.37b: “All of the celestial treasuries were delivered into his charge, and that was communicated, granted, and made (his?) commission. One thousand keys (to the aforementioned treasuries) were delivered into his charge.” Reeves and Reed, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, 248. Reflecting on *3 Enoch*’s developments, Macaskill points out that “several points in the text of *3 Enoch* parallel more closely what we find in the Ethiopic and Slavonic material, though still not perfectly. Enoch himself, as Metatron, is put in charge of all the heavenly treasuries and storehouses … in certain regards, however, the material in *3 Enoch* is much more radically developed than what we saw in the *Parables of Enoch* and in *2 Enoch*. Like these books, *3 Enoch* is interested in the involvement of the angels in the oversight of the storehouses and the management of the meteorological processes … . This would appear to reflect a much more developed angelological scheme than that seen in the *Parables* and in *2 Enoch*.” Macaskill, “Meteorology and Metrology,” 93–94.

615

One encounters a similar tendency in *3 Enoch* where the terminology of “storehouses” is also applied both to the chambers of cosmological phenomena and to the deposits of heavenly books, including Torah. *3 Enoch* 48D:10 reads, “Metatron brought Torah out from my storehouses and committed it to Moses.” Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.315.

616

The preexistent aeons Adoil and Arukhas, mentioned in *2 Enoch* 25 and 26, may be also understood as the repositories of the divine mysteries. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 25:3 depicts aeon Adoil as an entity which contains the divine mysteries and reveals them visibly: “And the great age came out, and it revealed all the creation which I had thought up to create.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.144. In the Pierpont Morgan Fragments of a Coptic Enoch Apocryphon, Enoch perceives “the mysteries that are hidden in the aeons of the height.” B. A. Pearson, “The Pierpont Morgan Fragments of a Coptic Enoch Apocryphon,” in: *Studies on the Testament of Abraham* (ed. G. E. W. Nickelsburg; SBLSCS, 6; Missoula, MO: Scholars Press, 1976) 227–257 at 259.

617

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 33:3–6 offers the following account of Satanail’s plot: “And the devil understood how I wished to create another world, so that everything could be subjected to Adam on the earth, to rule and reign over it. The devil is of the lowest places. And he will become a demon, because he fled from heaven; Sotona, because his name was Satanail. In this way he became different from the angels. His nature did not change, (but) his thought did since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed. And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin which he sinned previously. And that is why he thought up the scheme against Adam. In such a form he entered paradise, and corrupted Eve. But Adam he did not contact.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.154.

618

The origin of this tradition of the seven elements of human nature can be traced to Plato’s *Timaeus* 73B-76E. Regarding these conceptual developments, see R. van der Broek, “The Creation of Adam’s Psychic Body in the *Apocryphon of John*,” in his *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity* (NHS, 39; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 67–85 at 75ff.

619

A similar list of components is found in the *Latin Life of Adam and Eve*, which offers a tradition of Adam’s creation from the eight parts. Thus, the Latin *Vita* 37 [55] reads, “It must be known that the body of Adam was formed of eight parts. The first part was of the dust of the earth, from which was made his flesh, and thereby he was sluggish. The next part was of the sea, from which was made his blood, and thereby he was aimless and fleeing. The third part was of the stones of the earth, from which his bones were made, and thereby he was hard and

covetous. The fourth part was of the clouds, from which were made his thoughts, and thereby he was immoderate. The fifth part was of the wind, from which was made his breath, and thereby he was fickle. The sixth part was of the sun, from which were made his eyes, and thereby he was handsome and beautiful. The seventh part was of the light of the world, from which he was made pleasing, and thereby he had knowledge. The eighth part was of the Holy Spirit, from which was made his soul, and thereby are the bishops, priests, and all the saints and elect of God." G. Anderson and M. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition* (EJL, 17; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999) 96E.

620

Koch, "Kvanvig's Essay," 233.

621

Koch, "Kvanvig's Essay," 233.

622

Concerning this Adamic tradition attested in Latin, Old Irish, and Slavonic materials, see V. Jagić, "Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apocryphen. 1. Die altkirchenslavischen Texte des Adambuches," *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Classe* 42 (1893) 44–47; M. Förster, "Adam's Erschaffung und Namengebung: Ein lateinisches Fragment des s.g. slawischen Henoch," *AR* 11 (1907–8) 477–529; idem, "Die mittelirische Version von Adams Erschaffung," *ZCP* 13 (1921) 47–48; M. McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975) 21–23; C. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos: Eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Henochbuch* (JU, 59; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1995); Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 201; G. Macaskill and E. Greenwood, "Adam Octipartite/Septipartite: A New Translation with Introduction and Notes," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Non-Canonical Scriptures. Volume 1* (eds. R. J. Bauckham, J. R. Davila, and A. A. Panayotov; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013) 3–22.

623

On Adam's "body of knowledge," see S. N. Bunta, *The Lord God of Gods: Divinity and Deification in Early Judaism* (PHSC, 35; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2021) 259–265.

624

See van der Broek, "The Creation of Adam's Psychic Body in the *Apocryphon of John*," 67–85.

625

Reflecting on the setting of the Jewish sapiential traditions, Perdue points out that "for traditional wisdom social institutions and the roles and behavior subsumed under each are given an ontological status by being rooted in the cosmic order. A righteous and stable society embodies or actualizes the cosmic order originating at the time of creation. The fragmentation of the social order in turn leads to the destabilization and even collapse of the cosmos as chaos returns to destroy creation." Perdue, "Cosmology and the Social Order in the Wisdom Tradition," 472.

626

For Enoch as a new Adam in *2 Enoch*, see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211ff.

627

See J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "The Creation of Man and Woman in Early Jewish Literature," in: *The Creation of Man and Woman: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (ed. G. P. Luttikhuizen; TBN, 3; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 34–62.

628

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.184.

629

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1. 185.

630

See Philo, *Opif.* 88: “So the Creator made man after all things, as a sort of driver and pilot, to drive and steer the things on earth, and charged him with the care of animals and plants, like a governor subordinate to the chief and great King.” *Philo* (trs. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker; 10 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929–64) 1.73. For an in-depth analysis of the Adamic traditions in Philo, see J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* (JSPSS, 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988).

631

Adam’s designation as the second angel in *2 Enoch* 30:11 also seems to point to the first man’s role as the viceroy of God. See Philo, *Opif.* 148: “ … and the first man was wise with a wisdom learned from and taught by Wisdom’s own lips, for he was made by divine hands; he was, moreover, a king, and it befits a ruler to bestow titles on his several subordinates. And we may guess that the sovereignty with which that first man was invested was a most lofty one, seeing that God had fashioned him with the utmost care and deemed him worthy of the second place, making him His own viceroy and the lord of all others.” Colson and Whitaker, *Philo*, 1.117. It is also important that in *2 Enoch* 31:3 the realm of Adam’s dominion is designated as another world: “And the devil understood how I wished to create another world, so that everything could be subjected to Adam on the earth, to rule and reign over it.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.154.

632

Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 254–303. See also B. Bucur, *Scripture Re-Envisioned: Christophanic Exegesis and the Making of a Christian Bible* (BAC, 13; Leiden: Brill, 2019) 123.

633

Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 289–290.

634

Nickelsburg points out that “essential to *1 Enoch*’s construal of Law and its interpretation as Wisdom is the belief that Wisdom originated with God and that one can obtain it only through revelation. For the Enochic authors, this revelation occurred when the primordial seer and sage Enoch ascended to heaven, received ‘wisdom,’ descended, wrote it in books, and gave these books to Methuselah and his sons for transmission to later generations (81:1–82:3, 104:12–13).” Nickelsburg, “Enochic Wisdom: An Alternative to the Mosaic Torah?,” 127.

635

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.182.

636

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.182; 1.183.

637

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.157. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 33:9–12 offers a similar description: “And give them the books in your handwriting, and they will read them, and they will acknowledge me as the Creator of everything. And they will understand that there is no other God except myself. And let them distribute the books in your handwriting, children to children and family to family and kinsfolk to kinsfolk. For I will give you, Enoch, my mediator, my archistratig, Michael, on account of your handwritings and the handwritings of your fathers – Adam and Sith and Enos and Kainan and Maleleil and Ared your father. And they will not be destroyed until the final age. So, I have commanded my angels, Ariukh and Pariukh, whom I have appointed on the earth as their guardians, and I have commanded the seasons, so that they might preserve them so that they might not perish in the future flood which I shall create in your generation.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.156.

638

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 110. *Qur'an* 2.102 reads, "Not that Solomon himself was a disbeliever; it was the evil ones who were disbelievers. They taught people witchcraft and what was revealed in Babylon to the two angels Hārūt and Mārūt. Yet these two never taught anyone without first warning him, 'We are sent only to tempt – do not disbelieve.' From these two, they learned what can cause discord between man and wife, although they harm no one with it except by God's leave. They learned what harmed them, not what benefited them, knowing full well that whoever gained [this knowledge] would lose any share in the Hereafter." M. A. S. Abdel Haleem, *The Qur'an* (Oxford World's Classics; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 12–13.

639

For the possible Zoroastrian roots of these angelic figures, see P. J. de Menasce, "Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angélologie judéo-musulmane: à propos de Hârût et Mârût," *EA* 1 (1947) 10–18.

640

J. J. Collins, "The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism," in: *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983) 531–548 at 533, n. 7.

641

For the fallen angels traditions in the interpretations of Sura 2:102, see F. Abdullaeva, *Persidskaja koranicheskaja eksegetika* (St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, 2000); B. J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels: Soldiers of Satan's Realm* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1952) 114–117; C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch* (WUNT, 2/50; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992) 173, footnote 128; S. R. Burge, *Angels in Islam: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī's al-Ḥabāʾik fī akhbār al-malāʾik* (London: Routledge, 2015) 7; P. Crone, "The Book of the Watchers in the Qur'an," in: *Exchange and Transmission Across Cultural Boundaries: Philosophy, Mysticism and Science in the Mediterranean World* (eds. H. Ben-Shammai, S. Shaked, and S. Stroumsa; Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2013) 16–51; de Menasce, "Une légende indo-iranienne dans l'angélologie judéo-musulmane: à propos de Hârût et Mârût," 10–18; T. Fahd, "Anges, démons et djinns en Islam," in: *Génies, anges et démons* (SO, 8; Paris: Seuil, 1971) 173–4; B. Heller "La chute des anges: Shemhazai, Ouzza et Azaël," *REJ* 60 (1910) 202–212; L. Jung, *Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan Literature* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1926) 124–39; E. Littmann, "Harut und Marut," in: *Festschrift Friedrich Carl Andreas* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1916) 70–87; D. S. Margoliouth, "Harut and Marut," *The Muslim World* 18 (1918) 73–79; Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 355; Reeves and Reed, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, 173, 180–181, 183–184, 229, 249, 296; J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony*, 144–145; idem, "Some Parascriptural Dimensions of the 'Tale of Hārūt wa-Mārūt,'" *JAOS* 135 (2015) 817–842; G. Vajda, "Harut wa-Marut," in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (ed. B. Lewis et al.; 2nd ed.; 12 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1960–2005) 3.236b–237.

642

On the development of the Hārūt and Mārūt motif in the *tafsīr* materials, see Abdullaeva, *Persidskaja koranicheskaja eksegetika*; idem, *Tolkovanie korana [Lakhorskhij tafsir]* (Moscow: Nauka, 2001).

643

Reeves and Reed, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, 180.

644

Burge points out that "the mythic narrative found in the *tafsīr, ta'rīkh* and *qiṣāṣ al-anbiyā'*

traditions … bears little resemblance to the depiction of Hārūt and Mārūt in these two Qur'anic verses seen above. The myth, evidently popular in Islamic folklore, is pegged onto this verse, and this verse in particular because it is the only one to mention the angels by name." Burge, *Angels in Islam*, 7.

645

The sura where Hārūt and Mārūt appear in *Qur'an.*

646

Abdullaeva, *Persidskaja koranicheskaja eksegetika*, 31.

647

The Midrash Shemhazai and Azael depicts the fallen angel Shemhazai teaching a girl, named Esterah, the Ineffable Name: "They said before Him: 'Give us Thy sanction and let us descend (and dwell) among the creatures and then Thou shalt see how we shall sanctify Thy name.' He said to them: 'Descend and dwell ye among them.' … Forthwith Shemhazai beheld a girl whose name was Esterah; fixing his eyes at her he said: 'Listen to my (request).' But she said to him: 'I will not listen to thee until thou teachest me the Name by which thou art enabled to ascend to the firmament, as soon as thou dost mention it.' He taught her the Ineffable Name. What did she do? She mentioned It and thereby ascended to the firmament. The Holy One said: 'Since she has departed from sin, go and set her among the stars.' It is she who shines brightly in the midst of the seven stars of the Pleiades; so that she may always be remembered, forthwith the Holy One fixed her among the Pleiades." Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 327. Here one can see a curious reversal of the Watchers' violation of the "law of the stars": the fallen "stars" have abandoned their cosmological stations, and a righteous woman is appointed as a star in heaven.

648

Thus, John Reeves, among others, suggests that "careful comparison of the developed narratives of the 'Tale of Hārūt and Mārūt' and the 'Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael' amid the larger literary corpora within which they are embedded suggests that the Muslim Hārūt wa-Mārūt complex both chronologically and literarily precedes the articulated versions of the Jewish 'Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael.'" Reeves, "Some Parascriptural Dimensions of the 'Tale of Hārūt wa-Mārūt,'" 842. On the "back-borrowing" of the fallen angels' myth, see also Reed, "From Asael and Shemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael," 105–36; idem, *Fallen Angels*, 265; Crone, "The Book of the Watchers in the Qur'an," 16–51.

649

See, for example, Y. Paz, "Eternal Chains and the Mountain of Darkness: The Fallen Angels in the Incantation Bowls," in: *Apocryphal and Esoteric Sources in the Development of Christian and Jewish Traditions: The Eastern Mediterranean, the Near East, and Beyond* (ed. I. Dorfmann-Lazarev; TSEC, 21; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2021) 533–58; M. Idel, "On Neglected Hebrew Versions of Myths of the Two Fallen Angels," *Entangled Religions* 13.6 (2022).

650

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 139. English translation is mine.

651

In *3 Enoch* 48D:10 (*Synopse* §80), the act of the divine knowledge's transmission from angelic guardians to the mysterious "Men of Faith" is refashioned as Metatron's dispersal of the heavenly Torah to Moses: "Metatron brought Torah out from my storehouses and committed it to Moses, and Moses to Joshua, Joshua to the Elders, the Elders to the Prophets, the Prophets to the Men of the Great Synagogue, the Men of the Great Synagogue to Ezra the Scribe, Ezra the Scribe to Hillel the Elder, Hillel the Elder to R. Abbahu, R. Abbahu to R. Zira, R. Zira to the Men of Faith, and the Men of Faith to the Faithful." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.315.

652

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.160. This part of *2 Enoch* demonstrates some affinities with *1 Enoch* 81:5–10 where seven “holy ones” return Enoch to his house, telling him that he will spend a year at home telling everything he has learned to his son Methuselah. Like in *2 Enoch*, the patriarch’s return in *1 Enoch* is a temporal endeavor since he will return back to heaven in the second year.

653

It is noteworthy that Enoch claims that his expertise – both in understanding cosmology and in understanding humankind’s moral condition – is fathomless in nature. Thus, in *2 Enoch* 40:2, he utters the following: “I know everything, and everything I have written down in books, the heavens and their boundaries and their contents. And all the armies and their movements I have measured. And I have recorded the stars and the multitude of multitudes innumerable.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.164. According to *2 Enoch* 50:1, he also “put into writing the achievements of every person, and no one can escape.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.177.

654

It is possible that in *2 Enoch*, like in some other early Enochic writings, the law of the stars forms a conceptual counterpart, against which the protagonist unfolds his ethical vision for humankind. One can discern a similar arrangement, for example, in Sir 16:26–17:14: “When the Lord created his works from the beginning, and, in making them, determined their [luminaries] boundaries, he arranged his works in an eternal order, and their dominion for all generations. They neither hunger nor grow weary, and they do not abandon their tasks. They do not crowd one another, and they never disobey his word. … The Lord created human beings out of earth and makes them return to it again … . He established with them an eternal covenant and revealed to them his decrees. Their eyes saw his glorious majesty, and their ears heard the glory of his voice. He said to them, ‘Beware of all evil.’ And he gave commandment to each of them concerning the neighbor.” In *1 Enoch* 100:10–13, one can find an even more dramatic presentation of the collision between the upper and lower legal systems when, in the eschatological time, the stars and meteorological phenomena will accuse the unrighteous of the earth: “And now know that from the angels inquiry into your deeds will be made in heaven, and from the sun and from the moon and from the stars, concerning your sins; because on earth you execute judgment on the righteous. And every cloud and mist and dew and rain will testify against you; for they will all be withheld from you, so as not to descend upon you, and they will be mindful of your sins. Therefore, give gifts to the rain, lest it be withheld from descending to you, and to the dew and clouds and mist pay gold, that they may descend. For if the snow and the frost and its cold hurl themselves upon you, and the winds and their chill and all their scourges, then you will not be able to endure before the cold and their scourges.” Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 503. Reflecting on this testimony, Argall points out that “the imagery of 100:10–11 is that of the covenant lawsuit. Sun, moon and stars witness the deeds of covenant violators. Here, additional elements of creation also have this function, in particular, the meteorological elements of the winter season (‘every cloud and mist and dew and rain,’ 100:11; cf. 100:12 / ‘clouds and dew and rain,’ 2:3) testify by virtue of the fact that they are withheld from descending (100:11, 12). The verbal expression ‘withhold from descent’ (κωλύω καταβῆναι) is taken up again in the rhetorical question of 101:2. Sinners are helpless before the accurate and powerful testimony of meteorological elements.” Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 109.

655

“Now my son I have shown you everything, and the law of all the stars of the sky is completed.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 515.

656

Unlike other early Enochic booklets, *2 Enoch* appears to endow the stars’ processions and

measurements with divine origins. Thus, according to both recensions of *2 Enoch* 24:4–5 before any creation took place God himself "moved around in the invisible things, like the sun, from east to west and from west to east. But the sun has rest in himself; yet I [God] did not find rest, because everything was not yet created." Like in the Mosaic Law, which affirms the similarity between the deity and humanity by stating that it was created in the likeness of the image of God, in the "law of the stars" processions of the luminaries and stars appear to be patterned on the deity's processions.

657

2 Enoch 19:2–3 (SR): "These ones regulate, they study the peaceful order of the stars, the birth of the sun and the moon. And they are the leaders of the angels and of celestial speech. And they make all celestial life peaceful; and they preserve the commandments and instructions … ." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.133–135. *2 Enoch* 19:2–3 (LR): "And these groups carry out and carefully study the movements of the stars, and the revolution of the sun and the phases of the moon, and the well-being of the cosmos. And when they see any evil activity, they put the commandments and instructions in order … ." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.132.

658

L. Schiffman, "*2 Enoch* and Halakhah," in: *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only* (eds. A. A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini, and J. Zurawski; SJ, 4; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 221–228 at 227.

659

D. Stökl Ben Ezra, "Halakha, Calendars, and the Provenance of *2 Enoch*," in: *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only* (eds. A. A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini, and J. Zurawski; SJ, 4; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 229–242 at 230. In the conclusion of his response, Stökl Ben Ezra points out that "there are enough halakhic reminiscences to firmly place the first stratum of *2 Enoch*, which coincides approximately with the short version minus the Melkizedek appendix, in Second Temple Judaism … . The 364-day calendar points to a Jewish group in allegiance with one of the circles from which emerged *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the texts with a 364-day calendar found in Qumran … . Certain confusions in the calendaric issues may be due to later Christian copyists not familiar with these Jewish traditions." Stökl Ben Ezra, "Halakha, Calendars, and the Provenance of *2 Enoch*," 241.

660

Argall detects the same parallelism in the Wisdom of ben Sira. Reflecting on Sir 16:26–17:14, which draws a parallel between the "law of the stars" and the law for humans, he points out that in Sirach "the revelation of the Torah to Israel is related to the 'torah' one sees in the heavens. Just as 'each' (ἕκαστος) luminary is ordered not to crowd 'its neighbor' (τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ 16:28a), so also God gives commands 'to each' (ἑκάστῳ) Israelite 'pertaining to his neighbor' (περὶ τοῦ πλησίον, 17:14b). In projecting a torah unto the heavens from which humankind can learn to turn from evil (17:14a), ben Sira presupposes that there is not only goodness, but evil in the heavens." Argall, *1 Enoch and Sirach*, 137. A similar parallelism can be found in *Testament of Naphtali* 3:2 where the luminaries' faithfulness to "their order" serves as the cosmological counterpart for the Torah's laws: "Sun and moon and stars do not change their order; so you also, do not change the law of God in the disorderliness of your activities." Hollander and De Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary*, 301. Reflecting on this passage, Markus Bockmuehl points out that "the argument here could hardly be clearer: the natural order perceived in creation, calls for certain orderly patterns of human behavior, which are also in keeping with the Law of God." M. Bockmuehl, *Jewish Law in Gentile Churches: Halakhah and the Beginning of Christian Public Ethics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2000) 101–102.

661

Nickelsburg argues that "for the Enochic authors, law is tied to cosmic order … . In *1 Enoch* the violation of divine law relates to … proper calendrical practice. This is the principal concern of

the *Astronomical Book* (chaps. 72–82), although it is primarily descriptive rather than prescriptive, laying out the orderly character of the laws that govern the cosmos, rather than commanding humans to live in accordance with this order by observing a particular calendar." Nickelsburg, "Enochic Wisdom and Its Relationship to the Mosaic Torah," 84.

662

Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 157.

663

See Orlov, *Yahoel and Metatron*, 180–183.

664

On God's measuring activities, see Dimant, "4 Ezra and 2 Baruch in the Light of Qumran Literature," 31–62; Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 153–76; J. Schaper, "The Weight of Justice: Counting, Weighing, and Measuring in Ancient Israel's Social and Intellectual Worlds," in: *Congress Volume Aberdeen 2019* (VTSup, 192; Leiden: Brill, 2022) 1–16; Shupak, "Weighing in the Scales," 249–258.

665

Hollander and De Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary*, 300.

666

Kister notes that "several passages of the Hebrew Bible refer to God's measures. God is described as measuring out the water and the wind, and perhaps also His wisdom (Job 28:25–26). He is described as weighing the righteousness of human beings in His 'just balance' (Job 31:6), and as measuring the spirits of human beings (Prov 16:2; 21:2). From a prophetic passage (Ezek 18:25) it could be inferred that God's 'way' (i.e., dispensation) is 'measurable.' A prophetic passage (Isa 40:13) was interpreted as saying that God measured out His (Holy) Spirit, i.e., His wisdom. Gen 15:16 may be considered as a biblical precedent to the conceptions of measurement in history, such as those expressed in *4 Ezra* 4:36–37." Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 175.

667

Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 78.

668

Klijn, "2 Baruch," 1.635.

669

Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," 421.

670

Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 153–154.

671

Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 90.

672

Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 90.

673

Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 174–175.

674

Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 78.

675

T. A. Bergren, *Sixth Ezra: The Text and Origin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 230.

676

Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, 125.

677

Shupak, "Weighing in the Scales," 254. Shupak points out that "the notion that God created everything by measuring and weighing also appears in the Qumranic sapiential literature. One of the most striking references is to the מוזני צדק 'righteous balance' (4Q418 127 5–6), which serves as the divine instrument with which God weighs the measure of 'all things.' The same theme occurs again in 4Q418 774 4, where the מבין ('the understanding one') must 'grasp the mystery of being according to the [w]eight of periods.'" Shupak, "Weighing in the Scales," 255. See also Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 169.

678

1 Enoch 16:3: "You were in heaven, and no mystery was revealed to you; but a stolen mystery you learned." Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 267.

679

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.165. Macaskill points out that "in chapter 40, the uniqueness of Enoch's knowledge is stressed as he recounts his visions of the heavenly bodies: 'The angels themselves do not know even their numbers. But I, I have written down their names.' This language, stressing the veracity and comprehensiveness of Enoch's knowledge, runs right through this chapter, but it is not an autonomous knowledge that Enoch claims. Rather it is the knowledge that has been revealed to him by God." Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 208.

680

Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 946. *2 Enoch* 61:2 (LR) also points to Enoch's omniscience. In it Enoch speaks about a person's moral condition, boasting that "in the great age I will find out everything." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.186. Andersen notes that "this claim to virtual omniscience could have been deliberately left out of the short MSS." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.186.

681

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 346.

682

Some experts have suggested that the name "Metatron" may be connected with measuring. Gedialahu Stroumsa argues that "renewed attention should be given to μέτρον and/or *metator* (a conflation of the two terms should not be excluded) as a possible etymology of Metatron." G. Stroumsa, "Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ," *HTR* 76 (1983) 269–288 at 287. On this etymology, see also H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: KTAV, 1973) 1.134; M. Black, "The Origin of the Name Metatron," *VT* 1 (1951) 217–219 at 218.

683

Enoch-Metatron's expertise in measuring heavenly matters is perpetuated in later Jewish lore. Thus, in *3 Enoch* 22C:1–6, Metatron conveys to R. Ishmael the following heavenly measurements: "R. Ishmael said: Metatron, Prince of the Divine Presence, said to me: What is the distance between one bridge and another? 12 myriads of parasangs: in their ascent myriads of parasangs, and in their descent 12 myriads of parasangs. Between the rivers of fear and the rivers of dread, 22 myriads of parasangs; between the rivers of hail and the rivers of darkness, 36 myriads of parasangs; between the chambers of hail and the clouds of mercy, myriads of parasangs; between the clouds of mercy and the chariot, 84 myriads of parasangs; between the chariot and the cherubim, 148 myriads of parasangs; between the cherubim and the ophanim, 24 myriads of parasangs; between the ophanim and the

chambers of chambers, 24 myriads of parasangs between the chambers of chambers and the holy creatures, 40,000 parasangs; between one wing and another, 12 myriads of parasangs, and their breadth is the same; between the holy creatures and the throne of glory, 30,000 parasangs; from the foot of the throne of glory to the place where he sits, 40,000 parasangs, and his name is sanctified there. The arches of the bow rest upon ʿArabot, 1,000 thousand and a myriad of myriads of measures high, by the measure of the Watchers and the holy ones, as it is written, 'I have set my bow in the clouds.' Now, 'I will set in the clouds' is not written here, but 'I have set' — already, in the clouds that encircle the throne of glory, when his clouds pass by the angels of hail and the coals of fire … . Above them the wheels of the ophanim rest upon the arches of the bow, 1,000 thousand and one myriad of myriads high, according to the measure of the seraphim and the legions." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.306.

684

A. Kahana, "Sefer Hanok B," in: *Ha-Sefarim ha-Hitsonim le-Torah* (2 vols.; Tel-Aviv, 1937) 1.102–141.

685

G. Scholem, *On the Mystical Shape of the Godhead: Basic Concepts in the Kabbalah* (New York: Schocken Books, 1991) 29.

686

Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 265–66.

687

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.163.

688

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.120. Enoch's measuring activities are attested in both recensions. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 11:2 reads, "I measured their movements. I compared their light. And I saw that the sun has a light seven times greater than the sun(!). Their circle and their chariots on which each of them rides, passing like the wind." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.121.

689

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.122–124. A similar tradition is attested in the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 13:2: "… 6 gates, one (of which was) open, about thirty 1 stadia. Carefully I measured their size." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.123.

690

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1. 164–66; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150–154. The description found in the shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40 differs slightly from the longer recension but uses the same terminology of "measuring": "40:1 Now therefore, my children, I know everything; some from the lips of the Lord, others my eyes have seen from the beginning even to the end, and from the end to the recommencement. 40:2 I, I know everything, and I have written down in books the extremities of the heavens and their contents. I, I have measured (*измѣрих*) their movements and I know their armies. I have fully counted the stars, a great multitude innumerable. 40:3 What human being can conceive the circuits of their changes or their movements or their returns or their guides or the guided ones? The angels themselves do not know even their numbers. But I, I have written down their names. 40:4 And I, I have measured (*измѣрих*) the solar circle, and its (rays) I have counted; and its entrances and its departures, and all its movements; (and) I have written down their names. 40:5 And I, I have measured (*измѣрих*) the lunar circle and its daily movements, and the diminution of its light every day and hour. And I have written down its names." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.165–167; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 151. On the rays/faces of the sun in this passage, see L. Navtanovich, "'I Counted Sun's Faces' in the Short Recension of 2 Enoch," *Scrinium* 17.1 (2021) 372–381.

691

Hagen's English reconstruction of the Coptic fragments of *2 Enoch* 40:2–5 presents Enoch's measuring activities in the following manner: "40:2 I, I know [every]thing, [and I, I have written] in the books the [extent of the heavens, and their] contents I, I have measured, [and I, I have come to know] all their hosts [...] ... [... . 40:3 ... . 40:4 The circle of the sun I, I have measured, ... and its] goings in and its [goings out and its] entire movement, and also its names [I, I have written]. 40:5 The circle of the moon I, I have measured, and [its movements] and the waning of its light, [every day] and every hour, and its alte[rations] I, I have written." Hagen, "No Longer 'Slavonic' Only: 2 Enoch Attested in Coptic from Nubia," 20.

692

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.166. Reflecting on *2 Enoch* 43, Macaskill notes that in *2 Enoch* "a key part of Enoch's role has been to measure the creation (see, especially, 43:1)." Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 86.

693

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.171.

694

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 43:1 reads, "I, my children, every just deed and every just decree and every just decision I have checked out and written down." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.168–170.

695

Merilo Pravednoe ("The Just/Righteous Balance") is a Slavonic collection of ethical writings composed from various sources not earlier than the 13th century CE in Russia in which the existence of *2 Enoch* was first made public. The Slavonic text of *Merilo Pravednoe* is published in Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 259–262; R. Schneider, *Die moralisch-belehrenden Artikel im altrussischen Sammelband Merilo Pravednoe* (Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris. Fontes et Dissertationes, 23; Freiburg: Weiher, 1986) 93–99; M. N. Tihomirov, *Merilo Pravednoe po rukopisi XIV veka* (Moscow: AN SSSR, 1961) 71–76; N. S. Tihonravov, *Pamjatniki otrechennoj russkoj literatury* (2 vols; St. Petersburg/Moscow: Obschestvennaja Pol'za, 1863) 1.20–23.

696

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.217.

697

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 243.

698

1 Enoch 61:1–5 reads, "And I saw in those days, long cords were given to those angels, and they took for themselves wings and flew and went toward the North. And I asked the angel, 'Why did these take the cords and go?' And he said to me, 'They went so that they may measure.' And the angel who went with me said to me, 'These will bring the measurements of the righteous, and the ropes of the righteous to the righteous; so that they may rely on the name of the Lord of Spirits forever and ever. And the chosen will begin to dwell with the chosen; and these are the measurements that will be given to faith, and they will strengthen righteousness. And these measurements will reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth, and those who were destroyed by the desert, and those who were devoured by beasts, and those who were devoured by the fish of the sea; so that they may return and rely on the day of the Chosen One, for no one will be destroyed in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and no one is able to be destroyed." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 243. In the biblical materials one can find several descriptions of angels measuring the temple or Jerusalem. In Zech 2:1–2 a visionary sees an angel who will measure the Holy City: "I looked up and saw a

man with a measuring line in his hand. Then I asked, 'Where are you going?' He answered me, 'To measure Jerusalem, to see what is its width and what is its length.'" One of the most extensive descriptions of a "measuring angel" can be seen in Ezek 40, where a seer sees "a man was there, whose appearance shone like bronze, with a linen cord and a measuring reed in his hand" (Ezek 40:3). The angelic measurer then reveals to the adept the realities of the eschatological temple by measuring its dimensions. Here, like in *2 Enoch*, revelations are disclosed through measuring activity. A similar tradition in which of the eschatological temple is measured by an angel can be found in Rev 11.

699

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 451.

700

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.164.

701

In biblical materials angels are usually responsible for measuring sacerdotal structures. On these activities, see Ezek 40:5–42:14; Zech 2:1; Rev 11:1–2; 21:15.

702

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.166.

703

Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 85.

704

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.166; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 152. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:11 preserves a similar tradition: "I, I wrote down the chambers of the winds, and I, I observed and I saw how their custodians carry *scales and measures* (привесы и мѣры). (First, they place them in the scales), and secondly in the measure, and it is by measure that they release them into all the earth, so that by a severe blow (they) do not shake the earth." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.167; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 153.

705

Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 86.

706

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.174.

707

1 Enoch 61:1–5 reads, "1 And I saw in those days, long cords were given to those angels, and they took for themselves wings and flew and went toward the North. 2 And I asked the angel, 'Why did these take the cords and go?' And he said to me, 'They went so that they may measure.' 3 And the angel who went with me said to me, 'These will bring the measurements of the righteous, and the ropes of the righteous to the righteous; so that they may rely on the name of the Lord of Spirits forever and ever. 4 And the chosen will begin to dwell with the chosen; and these are the measurements that will be given to faith, and they will strengthen righteousness. 5 And these measurements will reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth, and those who were destroyed by the desert, and those who were devoured by beasts, and those who were devoured by the fish of the sea; so that they may return and rely on the day of the Chosen One; for no one will be destroyed in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and no one is able to be destroyed.'" Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 243.

708

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 244.

709

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 329.

710

Drawnel suggests that Enoch's skills include "the metro-arithmetical knowledge Enoch studies in order to be able to do the astronomical calculations." H. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*: *A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSS, 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 330.

711

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 451.

712

Badalanova Geller, "Celestial Landscapes and Heavenly Ascents," 218.

713

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.122.

714

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150.

715

In *3 Enoch* 46:1–2, Enoch-Metatron not only conveys to R. Ishmael the names of the stars but he arranges them by clapping his hands: "R. Ishmael said: Metatron said to me: [Come and I will show you] the spirits of the stars, which stand in the Raqiaʿ every night in fear of the Omnipresent One – where they go and where they stand. I went with him, and, taking me by his hand, he showed me them all with his fingers. They were standing like fiery sparks around the chariots of the Omnipresent One. What did Metatron do? At once he clapped his hands and chased them all from their places. Immediately they flew up on wings of flame and fled to the four sides of the throne of the chariot, and he told me the name of each of them, as it is written, 'He counts the number of the stars and gives each of them a name.'" Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.299.

716

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.165.

717

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.164; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:4 reads, "I have measured the solar circle, and its (rays) I have counted (*изчетох*); and its entrances and its departures, and all its movements; (and) I have written down their names." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.165; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 151.

718

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.174. Emphasis mine.

719

The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 47:5 does not mention the winds: "Who is it who has counted the dust of the earth or the sand of the sea or the drops of the clouds?" Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.175.

720

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150.

721

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.165, footnote g.

722

The Slavonic term "*сложих*" can be literally translated as "put together."

723

Jub. 4:17–21 also speaks about Enoch's arrangement of the calendar: "He was the first of mankind who were born on the earth who learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom and who wrote down in a book the signs of the sky in accord with the fixed pattern of their months so that mankind would know the seasons of the years according to the fixed patterns of each of their months. He was the first to write a testimony. He testified to mankind in the generations of the earth: The weeks of the jubilees he related, and made known the days of the years; the months he arranged, and related the sabbaths of the years, as we had told him … . He was, moreover, with God's angels for six jubilees of years. They showed him everything on earth and in the heavens — the dominion of the sun — and he wrote down everything." VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.25–27.

724

2 Enoch 43:1. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.171; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 163.

725

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.217; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 259.

726

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.193. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 65:6–7 gives a similar depiction: "And when the whole of creation visible and invisible, which the Lord has created, shall come to an end, then each person will go to the Lord's great judgment. And then all time will perish, and afterward there will be neither years nor months nor days nor hours. They will be dissipated, and after that they will not be reckoned. But they will constitute a single age." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.192.

727

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.192.

728

On Enoch's association with scales and balances in later Jewish and Muslim materials, see Reeves and Reed, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, 107, 128.

729

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 142; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.124.

730

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 224.

731

On *psychostasia* or weighing in a balance the good and bad "components" or "deeds" of a human soul, see Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 266–267; S. G. F. Brandon, "The Weighing of the Soul," in: *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade* (ed. J. M. Kitagawa et al.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969) 91–110; D. Ellul, "Le Testament d'Abraham: Mémoire et source d'imaginaire, la pesée des âmes," *Foi et vie* 89 (1990) 73–82 at 77–78; G. Griffiths, *The Divine Verdict: A Study of Divine Judgement in the Ancient Religions* (SHR, 52; Leiden/New York/Kobenhavn/Köln: Brill, 1991) 287–291; L. Howes, "'Who Will Put My Soul on the Scale?': Psychostasia in Second Temple Judaism," *Old Testament Essays* 27.1 (2014); idem, "Measuring and Weighing Psychostasia in Q 6:37–38: Intertexts from the Old Testament," *HTS Teologiese Studies* 70/1 (2014); idem, *Judging Q and Saving Jesus – Q's Contribution to the Wisdom-Apocalypticism Debate in Historical Jesus Studies* (Durbanville: Aosis, 2015) 274ff; M. Z. Kensky, *Trying Man, Trying God: The Divine Courtroom in Early Jewish and Christian Literature* (WUNT, 2.289; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010) 178ff; Pearson, "The Pierpont Morgan Fragments of a Coptic Enoch Apocryphon," 227–257; E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) 160.

732

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 136; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.119.

733

"And the Lord of Spirits seated the Chosen One upon the throne of glory; and he will judge all the works of the holy ones in the heights of heaven, and in the balance he will weigh their deeds." Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 247.

734

On the background of this imagery, see Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 266; G. A. Anderson, "Two Notes on Measuring Character and Sin at Qumran," in: *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (eds. E. G. Chazon, D. Satran, and R. E. Clements; JSJSS, 89; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 141–47; N. Deutsch, *Guardians of the Gate: Angelic Vice Regency in Late Antiquity* (BSJS, 22; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 107–109; Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 153–69; Shupak, "Weighing in the Scales," 249ff; Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 77.

735

Job 31:6: "let me be weighed in a just balance, and let God know my integrity!".

736

Prov 16:2: "All one's ways may be pure in one's own eyes, but the Lord weighs the spirit."

737

Prov 16:11: "Honest balances and scales are the Lord's; all the weights in the bag are his work."

738

Prov 21:2: "All deeds are right in the sight of the doer, but the Lord weighs the heart."

739

Prov 24:12: "if you say, 'Look, we did not know this' – does not he who weighs the heart perceive it? Does not he who keeps watch over your soul know it? And will he not repay all according to their deeds?".

740

Ps 62:9: "Those of low estate are but a breath, those of high estate are a delusion; in the balances they go up; they are together lighter than a breath."

741

Isa 40:12: "Who has measured the waters in the hollow of his hand and marked off the heavens with a span, enclosed the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?".

742

Dan 5:27: "you have been weighed on the scales and found wanting."

743

Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 60.

744

Klijn, "2 Baruch," 1.633.

745

Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 78.

746

O. S. Wintermute, "Apocalypse of Zephaniah," in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H.

Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985) 1.497–515 at 1.514.

747

Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 253–254.

748

R. B. Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” in: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985) 2.639–670 at 2.657.

749

“Simeon b. Nathaniel is fearful of sin; Eleazar b. Arak is an ever-flowing spring. He used to say: If all the Sages of Israel were in the one scale of the balance and Eliezer b. Hyrcanus in the other, he would outweigh them all. Abba Saul said in his name: If all the Sages of Israel were in the one scale of the balance and with them Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, and Eleazar b. Arak was in the other, he would outweigh them all.” H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 448.

750

H. W. Guggenheimer, *The Jerusalem Talmud: Third Order: Našim, Tractate Qiddušin* (SJ, 43; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008) 184.

751

“A person is judged by his majority, and he should always estimate himself as half meritorious and half guilty. If he performs one precept, happy is he for making the scale of merit incline in his favor; and if he commits one transgression, woe to him for making the scale of guilt incline against him.” H. Freedman and M. Simon, *Midrash Rabbah* (10 vols.; London: Soncino, 1961) 8.260.

752

W. G. Braude and I. J. Kapstein, *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana. R. Kahana’s Compilation of Discourses for Sabbaths and Festal Days* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1975) 520.

753

“There is here, however, a still deeper mystery. Near to the pillar which supports the wheels where the souls are blown in there are two weighing scales, one at each side: these are the ‘weights of righteousness’ and ‘weights of deception’ which never cease to move, and souls rise and fall thereon, and appear and disappear.” Sperling and Simon, *The Zohar*, 3.287. On this passage, see M. Idel, *Ascensions on High in Jewish Mysticism: Pillars, Lines, Ladders* (Past Incorporated. CEU Studies in Humanities, 2; Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005) 113.

754

The term *měra* and the related word *merilo* (мерило) are used in *2 Enoch* 40:11; 44:5; 49:2; 52:15.

755

Sreznevskij translates this term as “mensura, measure, a devise for measuring, weight, size, a vessel for measuring.” Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, 242–243. Andersen translates it as “measure.” 173. Böttrich links it to the Greek μέτρον: “meint im vorliegenden Kontext offenbar das im Handel gebräuchliche Hohlmaß.” Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 961. Charles and Forbes render it as “weight.” Charles and Forbes, “The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,” 2.458. Enrietti translate it as “misura.” M. Enrietti, “Libro dei segreti di Enoc,” in: *Apocrifi dell’Antico Testamento* (ed. P. Sacchi; 2 vols; Torino: UTET, 1989) 2.477–594 at 560. Macaskill translates it as “measure.” Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 299. Navtanovich translates it as “мера.” L. M. Navtanovich, “Kniga Enoha,” in: *Biblioteka literatury Drevnej Rusi* (ed. D. S. Lihachev; 20 vols; St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1997) 3.204–241 at 223. Pennington translate it as

"measure." A. Pennington, "2 Enoch," in: *The Apocryphal Old Testament* (ed. H. F. D. Sparks; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) 321–362 at 346. Santos Otero translates it as "medida." A. de Santos Otero, "Libro de los secretos de Henoc (Henoc eslavo)," in: *Apócrifos del Antiguo Testamento* (5 vols.; ed. A. Díez Macho; Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1984–1987) 4.147–202 at 185. Sokolov's Latin translation renders it as "mensura." M. I. Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature. Vypusk tretij. VII. Slavjanskaja Kniga Enoha Pravednogo. Teksty, latinskij perevod i issledovanie. Posmertnyj trud avtora prigotovil k izdaniju M. Speranskij," *Chtenija v Obschestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskih* 4 (1910) 1–167 at 45. Vaillant renders it as "la mesure." Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 47.

756

This term is used in *2 Enoch* 44:5; 49:2.

757

Sreznevskij's dictionary defines ставило as "scales" or "measure," giving examples from *2 Enoch*. Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, 485. Andersen translates it as "weight." 173. Böttrich links this term to the Greek ζυγόν or σταθμός, translating it as "die Standwaage." Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 961. Charles and Forbes render it as "measure." Charles and Forbes, "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," 2.458. Enrietti translates it as "il peso." Enrietti, "Libro dei segreti di Enoc," 560. Macaskill translates it as "weight." Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 299. Navtanovich translates it as "весы." Navtanovich, "Kniga Enoha," 223. Pennington translate it as "weight." Pennington, "2 Enoch," 346. Santos Otero translates it as "balanza." Santos Otero, "Libro de los secretos de Henoc (Henoc eslavo)," 185. Sokolov's Latin translation renders it as "statera." Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki," 45. Vaillant renders it as "le poids." Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 47.

758

This term is used in 40:11; 43:1; 44:5.

759

Andersen translates it as "scales." 173. Böttrich suggests that it "bezeichnet das Gewicht der Waage." Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 961. Charles and Forbes render it as "makeweight." Charles and Forbes, "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," 2.458. Enrietti translates it as "le bilance." Enrietti, "Libro dei segreti di Enoc," 560. Macaskill translates it as "set of scales." Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 300. Navtanovich translates it as "гири." Navtanovich, "Kniga Enoha," 223. Pennington translate it as "balance." Pennington, "2 Enoch," 346. Santos Otero translates it as "pesas." Santos Otero, "Libro de los secretos de Henoc (Henoc eslavo)," 185. Sokolov's Latin translation renders it as "pondera." Sokolov, "Materialy i zametki," 45. Vaillant renders it as "les balances." Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 49.

760

Cf., for example, *2 Enoch* 44:5(S): "Happy is he whose *measure* (мѣра) will prove to be just and whose *weight* (ставило) just and *scales* (превесы) just! Because on the day of the great judgment every *measure* (мѣра) and every *weight* (ставило) and every *scale* (привеса) will be exposed as in the market; and each one will recognize his *measure* (мѣра), and, according to it, each shall receive his reward." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.173; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 165.

761

Hagen's English reconstruction of the Coptic fragments of *2 Enoch* 40:8–11 also mentions the angels' balancing activities: "40:8 The dwelling-place of [the clouds and] their mouth and their wings and their [rains and their] drops I, I have explored. 40:9 I have [written the sounds (?)] of the thunderbolts and the wonders [of the lightnings. They] showed them to me, (they), that is, their (?) [custodians (?), and] their place of going up <and> the<ir> place (??) [of going

down (??)] with measure; they bring them [up by means of a chain / bound (??)] and they lead them [down by means of a chain/bound (??)], lest they turn themselves aside [and (?) …] rough (?) […]. 40:10 And the [treasuries of the snow and the storehouses of the i]c[e … 40:11 The dwelling-place of the winds I, I have written. I looked and saw their custodians bringing balances and measures: (??)] first they put [them on the balance], and [then] in the measure, and by [measure they bring them down] over the whole world, [lest they shake] the earth with a rough breath." Hagen, "No Longer 'Slavonic' Only: 2 Enoch Attested in Coptic from Nubia," 20.

762

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.166. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:11 provides a similar depiction: "I, I wrote down the chambers of the winds, and I, I observed and I saw how their custodians carry scales and measures. (First they place them in the scales), and secondly in the measure, and it is by measure that they release them into all the earth, so that by a severe blow (they) do not shake the earth." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.167.

763

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 224.

764

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 163.

765

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.171; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 163.

766

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.217; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 259.

767

Macaskill points out that "the use of balance imagery, meanwhile, is a distinctive extension of the meteorological accounts of both the *Parables of Enoch* and *Slavonic Enoch*, in both of which, again, it has a structural rather than incidental significance, reflecting an integrated account of creational order and ethics. This is not paralleled by the other parts of *1 Enoch*." Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 87.

768

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.173; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 165. The longer recension *2 Enoch* 44:5 does not use the expression "righteous balance" (мѣра праведна). See Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 164.

769

On Enoch's role as the witness of the divine judgment, see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 64–69.

770

Jub. 4:19–23: "He saw in a vision what has happened and what will occur – how things will happen for humankind during their history until the day of judgment. He saw everything and understood. He wrote a testimony for himself and placed it upon the earth against all mankind and for their history … . He was taken from human society, and we led him into the Garden of Eden for (his) greatness and honor. Now he is there writing down the judgment and condemnation of the world and all the wickedness of mankind." VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 2.26–28.

771

b. Hag. 15a: "Aher mutilated the shoots. Of him Scripture says: 'Suffer not thy mouth to bring thy flesh into guilt.' What does it refer to? – He saw that permission was granted to Metatron

to sit and write down the merits of Israel." I. Epstein, *Soncino Hebrew-English Talmud. Hagiga* (London: Soncino, 1935–1952) 12b.

772

Allison suggests that "Enoch's presence at the judgment as divine scribe in RecShrt. 9–11 might be original." Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 24. Later in his study he argues that "RecShrt. also might be primitive in having Enoch present at the judgment as the divine scribe, a chore RecLng. gives to two angels. His exalted status in Judaism is well-attested, and his features in RecShrt. are paralleled in Jewish writings – his giant size (*3 Enoch* 9:2; 48C:5), his being crowned (*3 Enoch* 12:3–5; 13:1; 48C:7), and his scribal office (*Jub.* 4:17–24; *1 Enoch* 12:3–4; 15:1; 4Q203; 4Q227; *Tg. Ps.-Jn.* on Gen 5:25; *Jub.* 4:23 says that he is now in Eden, 'writing condemnation and judgment of the world'; cf. 10:17: 'he will report every deed of each generation in the day of judgment'). Perhaps Enoch the scribe was replaced by two recording angels." Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 259–260.

773

On this tradition, see Kensky, *Trying Man, Trying God,* 178; Pearson, "The Pierpont Morgan Fragments of a Coptic Enoch Apocryphon," 227–284. Allison argues that "the *Coptic Enoch Apocryphon* catalogued as 'Pierpont Morgan Library. Coptic Theological Texts 3,' which Pearson assigns to fifth-century Egypt, seems definitely to be influenced by [TA] Rec. B, but also shows some lesser degree of influence from Rec. A. Parallels include a continuous post-mortem judgment, Enoch's role as scribe, and the weighing of good and evil deeds." Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 35.

774

Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 274–275; F. Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham: Introduction, édition critique des deux recensions grecques, traduction* (TSAJ, 11; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986) 72.

775

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.181; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 185. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 52:13–15 offers a slightly different rendering where scales and books are clearly separated: "Happy (is he who) even though he does not speak peace with his tongue, nevertheless in his heart there is peace toward all. Cursed — who with his tongue speaks peace, but in his heart there is no peace but a sword. For all these things (will be weighed) in the balances and exposed in the books on the great judgment day." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.180. The same tradition is reiterated in *Merilo Pravednoe*: "All this in the balance and in the books (все в мѣрилѣ и въ книгахъ) will be convicted on the day of the great judgment." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.220; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 261.

776

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.176. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 49:2–3 also contains this motif: "that before any person existed, a place of judgment was prepared for him, and the scale and the weight by means of which a person will be tested were prepared there ahead of the time." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.177. A similar tradition is reiterated in the collection *Merilo Pravednoe*: "Before mankind existed, a place of judgment, ahead of time, was prepared for them, and scales and weights by means of which a person will be tested." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.219.

777

Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 153.

778

Anderson, "Two Notes on Measuring Character and Sin at Qumran," 141–147.

779

Andersen “2 Enoch,” 1.190–192.

780

In *2 Enoch* 43:2, Enoch compares calendrical differences with the differences in human beings – a juxtaposition that again affirms the link between cosmology and human ethics: “One year is better than another year, and one day than another day, and one hour than another hour. Similarly, one person is better than another person – one because of much property; another because of wisdom of the heart; another because of intelligence; (and) craftiness; and silence of the lips.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.171.

781

Hahne, *The Corruption and Redemption of Creation*, 219.

782

Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements,” 162.

783

On importance of liturgy in maintaining creation’s harmony, see Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 163–170.

784

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.132.

785

Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 164.

786

Although, for example, in *1 Enoch* 39:12–14 the protagonist sees the angels participated in the celestial liturgy, in the *Book of the Similitudes* Enoch never serves as their choirmaster.

787

On these developments, see A. A. Orlov, “Celestial Choirmaster: The Liturgical Role of Enoch-Metatron in *2 Enoch* and Merkabah Tradition,” *JSP* 14 (2004) 3–29.

788

Scribal restoration of cosmological order has deep roots. Fröhlich points out that “the danger of the disturbance of the cosmic order is the theme of several Mesopotamian myths. Cosmic destinies are established at the time of creation, at which time the gods become their guardians. The cosmic destinies, inscribed on a tablet (*ṭuppi šīmāti*), while symbolic of eternal order, can be disturbed, as in the Anzû epic, resulting in chaos until the tablet is restored to its place.” Fröhlich, “The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch),” 15.

789

For example, the *Book of Giants* fragments identify Enoch as a scribe of interpretation. 4Q203 8 reads, “in a do[cu]ment of the hand of Enoch, the scribe of interpretation (ספר פרשא).” S. J. Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD, 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 28 and 31. In *Jub.* 4:17, he is attested as the one who “learned (the art of) writing, instruction, and wisdom and who wrote down in a book the signs of the sky.” VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.25–26.

790

J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS, 16; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984) 104. Both Charles and Black argue that the possible biblical parallel to Enoch’s role as the scribe could be the passage from Ezekiel 9, which depicts a man clad in white linen with an ink-horn by his side. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 28; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 143.

791

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 440.

792

1 Enoch 81:6 reads, “We will leave you with your son for one year until (you receive) another order, to teach your children and write for them, and you will testify to all your children; in the second year they will take you from them.” Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 530.

793

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 546.

794

Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 191. George Nickelsburg proposes that the title can be related to the Aramaic ספר די קושטא. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 65.

795

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 234; Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.41.

796

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 267 (with emendation); Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 1.56.

797

C. Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period* (JSOTSS, 291; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 94.

798

Schams, *Jewish Scribes in the Second-Temple Period*, 94.

799

Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 274; Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d’Abraham*, 72.

800

Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d’ Abraham*, 72.

801

Kvanvig, “Cosmic Laws and Cosmic Imbalance,” 147.

802

Nickelsburg and VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2*, 297.

803

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis (ed. M. Maher; ArBib, 1B; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1992) 36.

804

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.164; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:2 reads, “I, I know everything, and I have written down (написахъ) in books the extremities of the heavens and their contents.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.165; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 151.

805

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:2–3 reads, “And I have recorded (написах) the stars and the multitude of multitudes innumerable. What human being can seed their cycles and their phases? For not even the angels know their number. But I have written down (написах) all their names.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.164; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:2–3 reads, “I have fully counted the stars, a great multitude

innumerable. What human being can conceive the circuits of their changes or their movements or their returns or their guides or the guided ones? The angels themselves do not know even their numbers. But I, I have written down their names (написах)." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.165; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 151.

806

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:4 reads, "The solar circle I have measured, and its rays I have measured, the hours I have counted; and its entrances in all the months, and its departures, and all its movements – their names I have written down (написах)." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.164; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:4 reads, "And I, I have measured the solar circle, and its (rays) I have counted; and its entrances and its departures, and all its movements; (and) I have written down (написах) their names." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.165; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 151.

807

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.165.

808

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 40:6 reads, "I appointed 4 seasons, and from the seasons I created 4 cycles, and in the cycles I appointed the year, and I appointed months, and from the months I counted days, and from the days I measured off the hours and I counted them and wrote them down (исписах)." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.164; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150.

809

"And everything that is nourished on the earth I have investigated and written down (написах), and every seed, sown and not sown, which grows from the earth, and all the garden plants, and all the grasses, and all the flowers, and their delightful fragrances and their names. how they carry the rain and the raindrops – all this I investigated." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.164; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150.

810

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.166; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 152. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:9 reads, "And I wrote down (написах) the rumble of the thunder and the marvel of the lightning." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.167; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 153.

811

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.166; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 152. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:10 reads, "I, I wrote down (написах) the repositories of the snows, and the storehouses of the ice, and of every spirit of the cold." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.167; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 153.

812

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.166; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 152. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:11 reads, "I, I wrote down (написах) the chambers of the winds." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.167; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 153.

813

See Ben-Dov, "Exegetical Notes," 145.

814

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.166; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 154.

815

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.166.

816

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.166. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:13 reads, “From there I was brought down and I came to the place of condemnation, and I saw hell open, and I saw there a certain (plain), like a prison, an unbounded judgment. And I descended and I wrote down (написах) all the judgments of the judged, and I knew all their accusations.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.167; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 155. In *Merilo Pravednoe* the tradition is also repeated: “I wrote down (исписахъ) all the judgments of the judged, and all their accusations I knew.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.220; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 261.

817

Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 254.

818

Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 271.

819

Nickelsburg, “Eschatology in the Testament of Abraham,” 30. Leslie Baynes suggests that “the conjunction of the weighing of souls and the use of a book to balance good and evil deeds is reminiscent of an Egyptian judgment scene.” Baynes, *The Heavenly Book Motif*, 101.

820

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 19:4–5 reports, “These are the archangels who are over the angels; and they harmonize all existence, heavenly and earthly; and angels who are over seasons and years, and angels who are over rivers and the ocean, and angels who are over the fruits of the earth and over every kind of grass, and who give every kind of food to every kind of living thing; and angels who record all human souls, and all their deeds, and their lives before the face of the Lord.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.132.

821

2 Enoch 40:8 reads, “the dwelling places of the clouds and their laws (уставы ихъ).” Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 152.

822

2 Enoch 52:10 reads, “Cursed is he who destroys the rules (уставы) and restrictions of his fathers.” Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 182–183.

823

Goff, “Monstrous Appetites,” 23.

824

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.184.

825

On animal welfare in Jewish tradition, see B. A. Berkowitz, *Animals and Animality in the Babylonian Talmud* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); B. Berkowitz and M. Katz, “The Cowering Calf and the Thirsty Dog: Narrating and Legislating Kindness to Animals in Jewish and Islamic Texts,” in: *Islamic and Jewish Legal Reasoning: Encountering Our Legal Other* (ed. A. M. Emon; London: Oneworld, 2016) 89–97; N. Cohen, *Tsa̓ar Ba̓ale Ḥayim – The Prevention of Cruelty to Animals: Its Bases, Development and Legislation in Hebrew Literature* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1959); R. Isaacs, *Animals in Jewish Thought and Tradition* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 2000); R. Kalechofsky, *Judaism and Animal Rights: Classical and Contemporary Responses* (Marblehead, MA: Micah Publications, 1992); Y. Kiel, “Animal Suffering Matters: A Talmudic Story in Its Zoroastrian, Hindu and Buddhist Contexts,” in: *Sino-Iranica’s Centennial. Between East and West, Exchanges of Material and Ideational Culture* (ed. E. Nissan; Milan: Mimesis, 2020) 285–318; D. Sears, *The Vision of Eden: Animal Welfare and Vegetarianism in Jewish Law and Mysticism* (Spring Valley, NY: Orot, 2014); Y. Shemesh, “Compassion Towards Animals in Talmudic Literature and Traditional Biblical Exegesis,” *Iyune*

miqra u-farshanut 8 (2008) 677–699 [Hebrew].

826

See, for example, Böttrich's comment: "Sollten hier Praktiken der Umwelt im Hintergrund stehen, die eine solche auch für atl. Denken ungewöhnlich strenge Ethik des Tierschutzes veranlaßt haben?" Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 986. See also R. E. Otto, "J'Accuse: Animal Accusation in 2 Enoch," *Journal of Animal Ethics* 11.1 (2021) 1–10.

827

S. Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," in: *Types of Redemption: Contributions to the Theme of the Study Conference Held at Jerusalem 14th to 19th July 1968* (ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and C. J. Bleeker; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 72–87 at 74–75. For criticism of Pines' argument, see Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 43; C. Böttrich, "The 'Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (2 En): Between Jewish Origin and Christian Transmission. An Overview," in: *New Perspectives on 2 Enoch: No Longer Slavonic Only* (eds. A. A. Orlov, G. Boccaccini, and J. Zurawski; SJ, 4; Leiden: Brill, 2012) 37–68 at 60.

828

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 182. The Aramaic texts from Qumran, including 4Q201 and 4Q202, provide another witness to this tradition. According to Drawnel's reconstruction, 4Q202 Frgs 8–12 reads, "[(three) thousand cubits (in height) who were born on the earth as (on) their] birthplace [and grew up according to their greatness And they w]ere devouring [the labour of all the sons of men and men were not able to supp]ly [them. And the (demonic) warriors turned against them and began to kill (men) …] [the animals of the earth went up to heaven. And they harmed the] reptile[es of the earth and sea, and they harmed birds] [and sea monsters and the fish of the sea, eating their flesh between themselves. They also] drank blood. [Then the earth made the accusations against the wicked on account of all] that was happening on it." Drawnel, *The Aramaic Books of Enoch*, 158–163. The Giants' destructive behavior is also attested in the Qumran fragments of the *Book of Giants*, including 1Q23, 4Q531, 4Q532, and others. For a discussion of this highly fragmentary evidence, see Goff, "Monstrous Appetites," 23–26. For the texts of the Qumran fragments of the *Book of Giants*, see Pfann et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1*, 8–94; É. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie (4Q529–49)* (DJD, 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001) 9–115; L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ, 63; Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 1997). Cf. also *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*: "Shemhazai stood up and raised his voice and wept aloud, for he was sorely troubled about his sons and (his own) iniquity. And he said: 'How shall my children live and what shall become of my children, for each one of them eats daily a thousand camels, a thousand horses, a thousand oxen, and all kinds (of animals)?'" Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 328.

829

Goff points out that "the conception of blood in priestly law and the flood story is important for understanding the crimes of the Giants in the *Book of the Watchers* and other Enochic texts. The consumption of blood is prohibited in Genesis 9. The universal importance of the ban on blood consumption is highlighted by its inclusion in the covenant given to Noah. It is, literally, the first law promulgated in the Hebrew Bible. There is also a ban against the consumption of blood in Leviticus 17." Goff, "Monstrous Appetites," 29.

830

Gordon Wenham clarifies that "eating blood means eating meat from which the blood has not been drained (e.g., 1 Sam 14:33)." G. J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus* (The New International Commentary on the Old Testament; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979) 65.

831

Goff, "Monstrous Appetites," 31–32.

832

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.184; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 200.

833

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.184.

834

Goff clarifies that “the rationale for not ingesting the blood is its association with the ‘life’ or נפש of a living being. Gen 9:4, for example, reads, ‘Only you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood’ (אך בשר בנפשו דמו לא תאכלו). Lev 17:11 asserts: ‘the life of the flesh is in the blood’ (נפש הבשר בדם הוא; cf. Deut 12:23) … . Animal flesh maybe consumed once the blood has been drained, the ‘life’ of the creature having been returned to its source, God.” Goff, “Monstrous Appetites,” 29–30. On blood removal traditions, see also D. Biale, *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol Between Jews and Christians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) 17–28; M. Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 136; W. K. Gilders, *Blood Ritual in the Hebrew Bible: Meaning and Power* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004) 12ff; C. E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) 39; J. Milgrom, “A Prolegomenon to Leviticus 17:11,” *JBL* 90 (1971) 149–56; idem, *Leviticus 17–22* (AB, 3A; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) 1477–78; V. Noam, “Corpse-Blood Impurity: A Lost Biblical Reading?” *JBL* 128 (2009) 243–51; B. J. Schwartz, “The Prohibitions Concerning the ‘Eating’ of Blood in Leviticus 17,” in: *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel* (eds. G. A. Anderson and S. M. Olyan; JSOTSS, 125; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991) 34–66.

835

On *nefesh* as “soul,” see R. C. Steiner, *Disembodied Souls: The Nefesh in Israel and Kindred Spirits in the Ancient Near East, with an Appendix on the Katumuwa Inscription* (ANEM, 11; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015); J. Schaper, “Elements of a History of the Soul in North-West Semitic Texts: *npš/ nbš* in the Hebrew Bible and the Katumuwa Inscription,” *VT* 70.1 (2020) 156–176.

836

This sacerdotal aspect is even more apparent in the next verse, *2 Enoch* 59:2: “For a person brings one of the clean animals to make a sacrifice on account of sin, so that he may have healing for his soul.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.184.

837

Later Jewish interpreters describe this process of the soul’s pollution in detail in their comments on Lev 17:11. Nachmanides writes that “it is also known that the food one eats is taken into the body of the eater and they become one flesh. If one were to eat the life of all flesh, it would then attach itself to one’s own blood and they would become united in one’s heart, and the result would be a thickening and coarseness of the human soul so that it would closely approach the nature of the animal soul which resides in that which he ate, since blood does not require digestion as other foods do, which thereby become changed, and thus man’s soul will become combined with the blood of the animal.” C. Chavel, *Ramban (Nachmanides): Commentary on the Tora. Leviticus* (New York: Shilo Publishing, 1971) 240.

838

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 200.

839

Charles and Forbes, “The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,” 2.465. Reflecting on *2 Enoch* 59:1, Charles and Forbes argue that “this refers not to the sin of bestiality, but … to some unlawful way of sacrificing or slaughtering animals.” Charles and Forbes, “The Book of the Secrets of Enoch,” 2.465.

840

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.185.

841

Gen 4:10–11 reads, “And the Lord said, ‘What have you done? Listen; your brother’s blood is crying out to me from the ground! And now you are cursed from the ground, which has opened its mouth to receive your brother’s blood from your hand.’”

842

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 182.

843

Goff, “Monstrous Appetites,” 32.

844

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.185. The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 58:6 reads, “And every kind of animal soul will accuse the human beings who have fed them badly.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.184.

845

Goff, “Monstrous Appetites,” 22. In other part of his study Goff again argues that “the destructive tendencies of the giants are inextricably linked to their appetites – they harm the world and each other because they cannot control their appetites.” Goff, “Monstrous Appetites,” 23.

846

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.182. Enoch’s phrase “nor do I desire anything earthly” forms here a curious counterpart to the Watchers’ earthly desires.

847

For instance, no references for such motif are documented in Reeves and Reed, *Enoch from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.*

848

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 267.

849

Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 551.

850

Goff, “Monstrous Appetites,” 42.

851

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.190–192. The shorter recension offers an abbreviated version of this revelation: “Listen, my children! Before all things existed, (and) before all creation came about, the Lord established the age of creation, and after that he created all his creation, visible and invisible. And after all that he created man according to his image, and put in him eyes to see, ears to hear, heart to think, and reason to argue. Then the Lord delivered the age for the sake of man, and he divided it into times: and into hours, so that a person might think about the changes of the periods and their ends, the beginnings and the endings of the years and the months and the days and the hours, and so that he might calculate the death of his own life. When the whole of creation, which the Lord has created, shall come to an end, and when each person will go to the Lord’s great judgment, then the time periods will perish, and there will be neither years nor months nor days, and hours will no longer be counted; but they will constitute a single age. And all the righteous, who escape from the Lord’s great judgment, will be collected together with the great age. And (the age) at the same time will unite with the righteous, and they will be eternal. And there will be among them neither

weariness nor suffering nor affliction nor expectation of violence nor the pain of the night nor darkness. But they will have a great light for eternity, (and) an indestructible wall, and they will have a great paradise, the shelter of an eternal residence. How happy are the righteous who will escape the Lord's great judgment, for their faces will shine forth like the sun." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.191–193.

852

2 Enoch 25:1–3 reads, "And I commanded the lowest things 'Let one of the invisible things descend visibly!' And Adoil descended, extremely large. And I looked at him, and behold, in his belly he had a great light. And I said to him, 'Disintegrate yourself, Adoil, and let what is born from you become visible.' And he disintegrated himself, and there came out a very great light. And I was in the midst of the great light. And light out of light is carried thus. And the great age came out, and it revealed all the creation which I had thought up to create. And I saw how good it was." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.144.

853

On demiurgic connotations in the names of Asael and Shemihazah, see the first chapter of our study.

854

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.164; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150.

855

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.170.

856

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.126; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 78.

857

See, for example, *2 Enoch* 24:2 (LR): "whatever exists I created (сотворих) from the non-existent, and from the invisible the visible." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.142; *2 Enoch* 25:3 (LR): "And the great age came out, and it revealed all the creation which I had thought up to create (хотѣх сотворити)." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.144.

858

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 150.

859

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 120.

860

Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.156; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 130.

861

Angela Kim Harkins points out that "Enoch's unique status among humans is emphasized in the *Book of the Watchers*, especially at the conclusion of his heavenly journey to the northwest when he asserts firmly, 'I, Enoch, alone saw the visions, the extremities of all things. And no one among humans has seen as I saw' (*1 Enoch* 19:3). In the *Book of the Watchers*, Enoch's uniqueness permits him to participate in extraordinary experiences that are otherwise not accessible to human beings." Kim Harkins, "Reading the Qumran Hodayot," 38.

862

Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels," 353.

863

Stone, "Enoch and the Fall of the Angels," 357.

864

Stone, “Enoch and the Fall of the Angels,” 350.

865

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.164. Emphasis mine. The shorter recension of *2 Enoch* 40:3–4 affirms this tradition as well: “What human being can conceive the circuits of their changes or their movements or their returns or their guides or the guided ones? The angels themselves do not know even their numbers. But I, I have written down their names.” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.165.

866

Gen 15:5; Ps 147:4; *4 Ezra* 4:7; *6 Ezra* 16:56; *LAB* 21:2.

867

See Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 159–161.

868

Some manuscripts use the Slavonic words кормствуемая, кръмствуема, or корыствуемаа. On these variants, see Vaillant, *Le Livre des secrets d’Hénoch*, 45; Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 163, 298. Vaillant connects the aforementioned variants to Slav. кръмьчьствовати, the term related to the Greek κυβέρνησις or the Latin *gubernatio.* Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, 1410; J. Kurz et al., *Slovnik Jazyka Staroslovenskeho (Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae)* (4 vols.; Prague: Akademia, 1958–1997) 3.75. *Merilo Pravednoe* uses the term правлемая (азъ правлемая по земли). Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 259. Slav. правлемая can be traced to Slav. правити/правлю (to rule). See Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, 1345; Kurz et al., *Slovnik Jazyka Staroslovenskeho*, 4.239.

869

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.217–219.

870

Macaskill also translates this term as “manager”: “Behold my children, I am the manager of the earth, the *prometaya*. I wrote (everything) down.” Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 298.

871

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.217.

872

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.217.

873

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.165.

874

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.164, footnote H.

875

“Listen, my people, and give heed to the utterance of my lips! If to an earthly king someone should bring some kinds of gifts, if he is thinking treachery in his heart, and the king perceives it, will he not be angry with him?” Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.172.

876

Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 214–219.

877

Slav. царь земли. Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 124.

878

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.184.

879

Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.185.

880

2 Enoch 58:3 (LR). Andersen, “2 Enoch,” 1.184.

881

In relation to the formation of the Hekhalot literature as a distinct class of texts, Raʿanan Boustan observes that “this loose body of texts, written primarily in Hebrew and Aramaic with a smattering of foreign loan words, took shape gradually during Late Antiquity and early Middle Ages (c. 300–900), and continued to be adapted and reworked by Jewish scribes and scholars throughout the Middle Ages and into the early Modern period (c. 900–1500). While Heikhalot literature does contain some material that dates to the ‘classic’ rabbinic period (c. 200–500 CE), this literature seems to have emerged *as a distinct class of texts* only at a relatively late date, most likely after 600 CE and perhaps well into the early Islamic period.” R. S. Boustan, “The Study of Heikhalot Literature: Between Mystical Experience and Textual Artifact,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 6.1 (2007) 130–160 at 130–131. Boustan further notes that “Heikhalot literature — and its constituent parts — cannot simply be divided into stable ‘books’ or ‘works,’ but must be studied within the shifting redactional contexts reflected in the manuscript tradition. In particular, the dynamic relationships among single units of tradition as well as the relationships of those units to the larger whole should be considered. In light of this complex transmission-history, scholars have not always been able to agree on a single definition of what constitutes a Heikhalot text or on how the corpus might best be delimited.” Boustan, “The Study of Heikhalot Literature,” 139.

882

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.260.

883

On this, see Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 152–179.

884

Macaskill, “Meteorology and Metrology,” 93.

885

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.290.

886

Macaskill, “Meteorology and Metrology,” 93.

887

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.266–267.

888

Reflecting on *3 Enoch*’s description, Fröhlich suggests that “names of the Watchers known from *1 Enoch* appear, too, in *3 Enoch* 14. The world is ruled by angels invested with astronomical and meteorological functions, having the rank of ‘prince.’ The list of the princes who guide the world given in *3 Enoch* is astonishingly similar to that of *1 Enoch* … . The names – altogether 18 of them – are more or less the same as in *1 Enoch*. However, the angels are mentioned as rulers of heavenly bodies and phenomena and not as rebels. The names of Shemihazah and Asael are not to be found among them, and the list is headed by Gabriel, angel of fire, an essential characteristic of angels in *3 Enoch*.” Fröhlich, “The Figures of the Watchers in the Enochic Tradition (1–3 Enoch),” 23–24. Macaskill argues that, unlike in *2 Enoch* and the *Similitudes*, in *3 Enoch* “each of the angels is named in relation to their area of

responsibility," which in his opinion "would appear to reflect a much more developed angelological scheme than that seen in the *Parables* and in *2 Enoch*." Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 94. Yet, as we remember, it is exactly the case that in the fallen Watchers' list in the *Similitudes* the particular area of responsibility is conveyed in the Watcher's name.

889

Macaskill points out that "*3 Enoch* systematically shifts the roles of management and oversight onto Enoch himself, as Metatron. This suggests that while there are, indeed, close connections between *3 Enoch* and both the *Parables of Enoch* and *2 Enoch*, *3 Enoch* represents a more evolved text." Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 98.

890

Several passages of *3 Enoch* describe how the angels control the respective cosmological realities. One such passage is *3 Enoch* 17:4–7: "Under them is Galgalliʾel, the Prince, who is in charge of the orb of the sun, and with him are 96 angels, mighty and honored, who make the sun's orb run 365,000 parasangs through Raqiaʿ every day. Under then is ʾOpanniʾel, the Prince, who is in charge of the globe of the moon, and with him are 88 angels who make the moon's globe run 354,000 parasangs every night, whenever the moon stands in the east at its turning point. When does the moon stand" in the east at its turning point? Answer: On the 15th day of every month. Under them is Rahaṭiʾel, the Prince, who is in charge of the constellations, and with him are 72 angels, great and honored. Why is his name called Rahaṭiʾel? Because he makes the constellations run 339,000 parasangs in their cycles and orbits each night, from the east to the west and from the west to the east. For the Holy One, blessed be he, made for them all, for the sun, the moon, and the constellations, a tent to move in by night from the west to the east. Under them is Kokabiʾel, the Prince, who is in charge of all the stars, and with him are 365,000 myriads of ministering angels, great and honored, who make the stars run from city to city and from state to state in the Raqiaʿ of the heavens." Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.269–270.

891

Macaskill points out that "*3 Enoch* appears to be radically more developed in its angelological scheme and in its concern with the distinctive status of Enoch." Macaskill, "Meteorology and Metrology," 94.

892

3 Enoch 48C:9–10.

893

P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," in: *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (eds. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergen; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998) 102–111 at 105, n. 24.

894

The term "world" (עולם) in the angelic title appears to signify the entire creation. Peter Schäfer observes that in rabbinic literature the Prince of the World is understood as an angel set over the whole creation. His duties include praying together with the earth for the coming of the Messiah and praising God's creative work. P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen: Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung* (SJ, 8; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975) 55.

895

Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.312.

896

Alexander points to the fact that the later texts equate Metatron explicitly with this title. Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.243.

897

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.243.

898

3 Enoch 30. Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.285. P. Schäfer et al., *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ, 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981) 24–25.

899

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.265–66.

900

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.292–293.

901

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.264.

902

Some manuscripts of *3 Enoch* use “mysteries” instead of “orders.” See, Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.264, note c.

903

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.264.

904

The interaction between Enoch-Metatron and R. Ishmael is reminiscent of angelic instructions found in early Enochic booklets. Yet, the Enochic instructional pattern, in which Uriel unveils to Enoch various cosmological calculations and measurements, receives in late Jewish accounts a novel paradoxical shape where angelic guides teach their human apprentices not only cosmological measurements but also the measurements of God’s body. One of such testimonies can be found in the *Shiʿur Qomah* section of the *Merkabah Rabbah* (*Synopse* §688): “I said to him, to the Prince of Torah, teach me the measure of our Creator, and he said to me the measure of our Creator, and he said to me the measure of the body.” Schäfer et al, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*, 252. On these traditions, see M. Fishbane, “The ‘Measures’ of God’s Glory in the Ancient Midrash,” in: *Messiah and Christos: Studies in the Jewish Origins of Christianity Presented to David Flusser on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* (eds. I. Gruenwald, S. Shaked, and G. Stroumsa; TSAJ, 32; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992) 53–74; A. A. Orlov, “‘Without Measure and Without Analogy:’ *Shiʿur Qomah* Traditions in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch,” *JJS* 56 (2005) 224–244.

905

Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 1.264.

906

On this, see V. Bachmann, “The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36): An Anti-Mosaic, Non-Mosaic, or Even Pro-Mosaic Writing?” *JHS* 11 (2011) 1–23; A. Bedenbender, *Der Gott der Welt tritt auf den Sinai: Entstehung, Entwicklung und Funktionsweise der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik* (ANTZ, 8; Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 2000); idem, “Als Mose und Henoch zusammenfanden: Die Entstehung der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik als Reaktion auf die Religionsverfolgung unter Antiochus IV. Epiphanes,” in: *Jüdische Schriften in ihrem antik-jüdischen und urchristlichen Kontext* (eds. H. Lichtenberger and G. S. Oegema; Studien zu den Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, 1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002) 182–203; idem, “The Place of the Torah in the Early Enoch Literature,” in: *The Early Enoch Literature* (eds. G. Boccaccini and J. J. Collins; JSJSS, 121; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 65–79; P. Heger “1 Enoch – Complementary or Alternative to Mosaic Torah?” *JSJ* 41 (2010) 29–62.

907

G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and*

Enochic Judaism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 71.

908

Perdue, "Cosmology and the Social Order in the Wisdom Tradition," 462.

909

Klijn, "2 Baruch," 1.641–642.

910

Kister, "Physical and Metaphysical Measurements," 156.

911

Reflecting on Enoch's ethical admonitions, Böttrich proposes that "the work suggests that something like the law was already known long before the Torah was given." C. Böttrich, "Enoch, Slavonic Apocalypse of (2 Enoch)," in: *T&T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism* (eds. L. T. Stuckenbruck and D. M. Gurtner; London: T&T Clark, 2020) 1.185–188 at 188.

912

Nickelsburg argues that Enoch's "cosmological teaching supplements or supersedes the Mosaic Torah." G. Nickelsburg, "Enoch as Scientist, Sage, and Prophet: Content, Function, and Authorship in *1 Enoch*," *SBLSP* 38 (1999) 203–230 at 218. Coblentz Bautch also suggests that, in the Enochic tradition, "there is an alternative or rival to the Mosaic torah: revealed wisdom serves as divine law which, in turn, is the basis for judgment. This revealed wisdom or divine law concerns especially calendrical practices (cf. *1 Enoch* 72–82), prohibition against murder and violence (cf. *1 Enoch* 7:4–8:1, 4; 9:1), and sexual impropriety (cf. *1 Enoch* 15:3–7). Rooted in sapiential traditions, moreover, Enochic wisdom emphasizes the cosmic order or the law of nature, instead of the Mosaic law (cf. *1 Enoch* 2–5)." Coblentz Bautch, *A Study of the Geography*, 290. On cosmological teachings as the divine law, see also Collins, "How Distinctive was Enochic Judaism?" 30–31; Doering, "Torah and Halakah in the Hellenistic Period," 259; Hayes, *What's Divine about Divine Law? Early Perspectives*, 98; Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul*, 106.

913

In the *Book of Jubilees*, a writing deeply affected by the Enochic worldview, the calendrical "measurements," pertaining to the cycles of the luminaries, are labelled as "commandments," and they are engraved on heavenly tablets. Florentino García Martínez connects *Jubilees'* heavenly tablets with the rabbinic concept of the "Oral Torah." García Martínez, *Between Philology and Theology*, 69. Scholars have previously suggested that in *Jubilees* "*halakha* was read off creation, which itself had been called into being through the divine commands uttered in Hebrew (see *Jub.* 12:25–27 for Hebrew as the language of creation and revelation); and it had been meant for all peoples. Moses's Torah now has the different function of prescribing the Hebrew *halakha* for the Israelites." VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 329. Jackson points out that "the Books of Enoch had already established the definitive and mandatory nature of the 364-day calendar such that its acceptance constituted a defining distinction between the righteous and the sinners. *Jubilees* establishes a sharp but brief polemic based on this calendar. It reflects a detailed process of working out the implications of this regularity for the annual cycle of feasts and worship, and also for the overall pattern of history. Behind all this detailed work lies a very Enochic assumption: that to be righteous and acceptable before God all of life has to conform to God's regulations for the cosmos." Jackson, *Enochic Judaism*, 157.

914

Nickelsburg, "Enochic Wisdom: An Alternative to the Mosaic Torah?" 126. In another section of his study, Nickelsburg points out that "pervading *1 Enoch*'s understanding of law, and reflecting its roots in the sapiential tradition … is a sense of cosmic order, attested in the

detailed observations documented in the *Book of the Luminaries* (chaps. 72–82) and alluded to in the heart of the collection's introductory oracle (2:1–5:3). Obedient to their Creator, heaven and earth and the seasons work with complete regularity, and the luminaries do not change their paths or transgress their order. By contrast, human disobedience is construed as perversion and turning aside from God's order (5:4)." Nickelsburg, "Enochic Wisdom: An Alternative to the Mosaic Torah?" 126.

915

The longer recension of *2 Enoch* 23:1–6 describes the content of Enoch's books as a list of the "revealed things": "And he was telling me all the things of heaven and earth and sea and all the elements and the movements and their courses, and the living thunder, the sun and the moon and the stars, their courses and their changes, and seasons and years and days and hours, and the coming of the clouds and the blowing of the winds, and the number of the angels and the songs of the armed troops; and every kind of human thing, and every kind of language (and) singing, and human life and rules and instructions and sweet-voiced singing, and everything that it is appropriate to learn. And Vrevoil instructed me for 30 days and 30 nights, and his mouth never stopped speaking. And, as for me, I did not rest, writing all the symbols and all the creatures. And when I had finished 30 days and 30 nights, Vrevoil said to me, 'These things, whatever I have taught you, whatever you have learned, and whatever we have written down, you sit down and write – all the souls of men, whatever of them are not yet born, and their places, prepared for eternity. For all the souls are prepared for eternity, before the composition of the earth.' And I sat down for a second period of 30 days and 30 nights, and I wrote everything accurately. And I wrote 366 books." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.140.

916

Macaskill, *The Slavonic Texts of 2 Enoch*, 139.

917

This expression is attested in the MSS of both recensions.

918

Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.315; *Synopse* §80.

919

Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.315; M. D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) 188.

920

Danby, *The Mishnah*, 446.

921

Swartz renders this term as the "Possessors of the Faith." See Swartz, *Scholastic Magic*, 179.

922

On the chain of tradition in *Pirke Avot* and *Avot d' R. Nathan*, see E. Bickerman, "La chaîne de la tradition pharisienne," *RB* 59 (1951) 44–54; L. Finkelstein, "Introductory Study to Pirke Abot," *JBL* 57 (1938) 13–50; A. J. Saldarini, "The End of the Rabbinic Chain of Tradition," *JBL* 93 (1974) 97–106; idem, *Scholastic Rabbinism: A Literary Study of the Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982).